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## CRITICAL NOTES ON CLEM. AL. STROM. VII.

(Concluded from page 390.)

§ 46, p. 858. οὐδὲν ἐπίγρει τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον εἰς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρῆσιν οὐδὲ ὅτι οὐδὲν. The reading of the MS. is οὐθὲν ὅτι οὐδὲν, for which H. conjectures εὐθετούντων, the last syllable having been lost by its resemblance to the penultimate.

*Ib.* p. 859. ὅστις δὲ βρίθουσά τις ἔτι ὑπολείπεται γωνία κάτω ρέποντα, κ.τ.λ. Put a full stop before ὅστις, and read perhaps ἀγωνία, comparing *Il.* xxi. 385 ἐρις βεβρινία.

*Ib.* καθάπερ τῷ λίθῳ τὸ βάρος, οὐτως τοῦ δε οὐκ ἐπιστήμη ἀναπόβλητος οὐκ ἀκονσίως <γάρ>, ἀλλ' ἐκονσίως, δινάμει λογικῇ καὶ γνωστικῇ καὶ προνοητικῇ καθίσταται. Read τῷδε for τοῦδε. H. proposes to omit the interpolated γάρ and the colon after ἀναπόβλητος, and to put a comma before καθίσταται.

§ 47. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ μὴ ἀποβληθεῖ τῇ ναι δι' εὐλαβείας ἀναπόβλητον γίνεται, τῆς μὲν εὐλαβείας... ἀνθέξεται. Read ἐπεί and ἀποβληθέν. [So H.]

*Ib.* πεπεισμένος καὶ ὡς ἔστιν ἔκαστον τῶν μελλόντων κέκτηται τούτο. Put καὶ before κέκτηται.

§ 48. οὐ γάρ η τῆς σοφίας μετάδοσις κινούντων καὶ ισχόντων ἀλλήλους τῆς τε ἐνεργείας καὶ τοῦ μετίσχοντος γίνεται οὐτε ἀφαιρούμενον τυνὸς οὐτε ἐνδεοῦς γινομένον. Put commas before κινούντων and before and after γίνεται, and read μετίχοντος, as in the preceding sentence. The form μετίσχοντος is probably due to ισχόντων just before. For οὐτε... οὐτε H. restores the οὐδὲ... οὐδὲ of the MS.

§ 48. οὐκον ἀφέλοιτο <ἄν> τούτους. I  
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think ἄν is more likely to have been lost before οὐκον than where it has been inserted by Dindorf. H. queries τιμώμενός τε in the following sentence.

§ 48. ὡς δὲ ὁ λαρὸς ὑγίειαν παρέχεται τοῖς συνεργοῦσι πρὸς ὑγίειαν, οὐτως καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὴν αἴδειν σωτηρίαν τοῖς συνεργοῦσι πρὸς γνῶσιν τε καὶ εὐπραγίαν, σὺν δὲ τῷ τοιῦν ὅντων ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀ προστάτουσιν αἱ ἐντολαὶ καὶ ἡ ἐπαγγελία τελειοῦται. Put a full stop after εὐπραγίαν. For ὅντων H. reads ὅτιον (or ἐν) τῶν. Prof. Cook Wilson would read τῶν governed by the following relative.

*Ib.* τὸ τάν συναιρεῖται πρὸς τὴν τελειότητα τὴν σωτηρίαν. We should have expected συναιρέται here, as συναιρέω does not appear to be used in a deponent sense, and provides no suitable meaning. It occurs however in p. 896 ταῖς ἡδοναῖς αὐτῶν συναιρούμενον. H. Perhaps we should read τῆς σωτηρίας instead of the accusative.

§ 49. περὶ τούτων ἄρα ὁ γνωστικός καὶ συνείχεται τοῖς καὶ οὐτερον πεπιστευκόστι. Read κοινότερον, the word κοινός being used of πίστις, as opposed to γνῶσις.

§ 861. καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ταμείῳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐννοηθῆ μόνον καὶ ἐπικαλέσηται τὸν πατέρα, ὁ δὲ ἐγγὺς... πάρεστιν. Put a colon instead of a comma before καὶ.

*Ib.* τὸ δὲ ἐπιτελεῖν ἡδέα τὸν δύσοιστον κοινὸν βίον διόκουσιν καταλιμπάνει. Dindorf reads ἡδέα after Potter for MS. διά. H. has the excellent emendation ἐν τι τελεῖν διὰ τὸ ἡδὺ τοῖς τὸν κ.τ.λ.

§ 50. εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ κρίσει τοῦ δρῶντος καὶ λαλοῦτος τὸ ἀδικεῖν, οὐχὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ πάθει κεῖται τοῦ ἀδικούμενον. This is Lowth's emendation for διακονούμενον. Perhaps we should read διαπονούμενον.

*Ib.* ἀλλ' οὐδὲ οἱ εταὶ. Potter suggested δύνται. H.'s δύεται is more felicitous.

*Ib.* δύνιναι γάρ ἐστι τὸ ὄρκον...ἀπὸ διανοίας προσφέρεσθαι παραστατικῶς. H. suggests παραστατικῆς.

§ 51, p. 862. εὐγνωμοσύνη. Apparently copied by inadvertence from Klotz for the εὐγνωμοσύνη of the older editors.

*Ib.* ὁ μὲν οὖν μηδὲ δύνινς πολλοῦ γε δεῖ εἰπειρκήσει. This is Dindorf's correction of MS. ἐπιορκήσει, but πολλοῦ γε δεῖ is often used adverbially. [So H.]

§ 53, p. 863. Put colons, instead of commas, after ὠφελεῖν, ἀναγκάζεται, ποιοίη. [So H.]

*Ib.* ὁ τοίνυν μέχρι τῆς συμπεριφορᾶς [διὰ τὴν τῶν πέλας σωτηρίαν] συγκαταβαίνων ψιλῆς, διὰ τὴν τὸν δὲ οὐσίαν συμπεριφέρεται σωτηρίαν,... οὗτος οἰδαμῶς ἀναγκάζεται. 'No need to omit the bracketed words, which first express the limitation in general terms, the same thing being afterwards repeated with a closer reference to prevent misunderstanding. The double διά is like the double ἵπερ below, ταντὸν ἐπιδίδωσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκλεγσίας, ὑπὲρ τῶν γνωρίμων οὐσίας ἐγένησεν. Instead of ἀναγκάζεται some word expressing falsehood or shrinking is required. Potter's ἀναγκάζεται seems too poetic, though it is found in Xenophon.' H. I cannot see that any misconception is avoided by the repetition, and I think it more likely that the bracketed words are a gloss.

§ 864. μηδὲ ἐν τῷ προφορικῷ λόγῳ ψεύσται θέλων ποτὲ...έπει τῷ ψεύδος αὐτὸν ἀπειράτια τονούς δόλου εἰρημένον οὐκ ἀργός ἐστι λόγος, ἀλλ' εἰς κακίαν ἐνεργεῖ. For αὐτὸν read αὐτῷ and put colons before ἀπειράτια and after εἰρημένον.

§ 55. ἐστιν γάρ...ἡ γνῶσις τελείωσίς τις ἀνθρώπῳ ως ἀνθρώπου. Dindorf has carelessly followed Klotz in reading ἀνθρώπῳ for ἀνθρώπου.

*Ib.* οὐ μὲν γάρ τι ἐστι γνῶσις τοῦ πάντως καὶ σοφία τυγχάνει. H. adopts Sylburg's emendation ταῦτη.

§ 56, p. 865. ὅποταν τις κρεμασθῇ τοῦ κυρίου. Read ἐκκρεμασθῇ, comparing *De Div. Serv.* § 3 τῆς ἐνταῦθα ζωῆς ἐκκρεμασθέντες.

*Ib.* οὐθενὶ ἐπὶ τέλει ηγενόταται τοῖς εἰς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδείοις...διὰ τοῦ πλείονος παρασκευῆς...δεῖσθαι. Put a colon before οὐθενὶ, and read [so H.] τὸ for τοῦ.

§ 56. Colons, instead of commas, after σωτήριον and ἀγίοις.

§ 57. ἐνταῦθα...τῆς γνωστικῆς ψυχῆς ἡ τελείωσις, πάσης καθάρσεως...ὑπερβάναν σὺν τῷ κυρίῳ γίνεσθαι ὅπον ἐστιν προσεχῶς ὑποτεταγμένη: put a comma after ὅπον ἐστιν. H.

*Ib.* p. 866. εἰς τὸ ἀμετάπτωτον καὶ μετ' ἐπιστήμης καταταληπτικὸν παραπέμποντα. H. restores the MS. καταληπτόν for Potter's καταληπτικόν.

*Ib.* δευτέρα δὲ ἡ ἐκ πιστεως εἰς γνῶσιν, η δὲ εἰς ἀγάπην περαιούμενη. ἐνθένδε ἥδη φίλον φίλω τὸ γνῶσκον τῷ γνωτοκομένῳ παριστάσιν. Remove the stop after περαιούμενη. [So H. who adds 'the 2nd transition already makes the object and subject of γνῶσις dear to each other by its own approach to ἀγάπη.']

§ 58, p. 866. θεὸν εἶναι τὸν σωτῆρα ἀπειράτειαν...πρόσωπον αὐτὸν εἰπών τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰακώβ, τὸν...διδάξαντα περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος, διὸ καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος χαρακτήρα τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν ίδιον προσεῖπεν. H. reads πατρὸς for πνεύματος, changing the following comma to a colon.

*Ib.* ἔνα δὲ εἶναι τὸν θεὸν διὰ τὸν γητούντων τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰακώβ μεμρύνται. Read τὸν for τῶν, printing the following words (γητούντων τοῦ Ἰακώβ) as a quotation. H.

*Ib.* η γενεὰ δὲ τὸν γητούντων αὐτὸν τὸ γένος ἐστι τὸ ἐκλεκτόν, τὸ γητητικὸν εἰς γνῶσιν. Exchange ἐκλεκτόν and γητητικόν.

§ 60, p. 867. πάντ' ἐκείνα ποιῶν δι' ὧν λαβεῖν δυνήσται τὴν γνῶσιν ὃν ποθεῖ. πόθος δὲ κατὰ προκοπὴν πίστεως ἡμέρης γητήσει κραθεῖς συνίσταται, τὸ δὲ ἐστιν ἀξίον γενέσθαι τῆς τοιαύτης...θεωρίας. Bracket the words from πόθος to συνίσταται as parenthetical, changing the preceding full stop into a comma.

§ 61, p. 868. πρόεισιν οὖν ἐγγυμαζόμενος τῷ ἐπιστημονικῷ θεωρίᾳ εἰς τὸ ἐν τῷ γητητικῷ ασθεατοῖς τοῖς καθολικώτερον...εἰρημένοις, εἰδὼς...ὅτι ὁ διδάσκων ἀνθρωπῶν γνῶσιν...κύριος ἐστιν διὰ στόματος ἀνθρωπίνον καὶ ριτος ἐνεργῶν. For ἐναγωγίσασθαι read ἐταγή. [So H.] For πρόεισιν of Hervetus read πρόσεισιν with the MS. and for the second κύριος read κυρίως. H.

*Ib.* οὐ θεὸς δὲ τὸ πράγμα ἀφ' οὐδὲ φέρεται τὸ φυσεῖν καὶ βλέπειν ἐξετάζει. Should we read πνεύμα for πράγμα?

§ 62. καὶ δὴ καὶ συμπάσχει τῷ σώματι...ἀλλ' οὐ πρωτοπαθεῖ κατὰ τὸ πάθος. Put a full stop before καὶ δὴ and a colon after πάθος. H.

§ 63, p. 869. η γνῶσις αὐτῷ πεῖσμα βεβαιούσαν ἐνεγένησεν τῆς τῶν μελλόντων ἀπολήψεως. Dindorf omits ἀλπῖδων inserted in the

MS. after *μελλόντων*. I am rather disposed to think that it represents an *ἀλπῆ* lost before *ἐνεγένησεν*.

§ 65, p. 870. *εν γάρ οδεν τὰ πουητέα καὶ μὴ ἐγνωκός κ.τ.λ.* Put a comma after *μὴ*. [So H.]

*Πλ. ἔφισταται ἀ δεῖ καὶ προσήκειν αὐτῷ ὁ λόγος ὑπαγορεύει.* Read *δεῖν* with the first hand in the MS. H.]

*Ib. οὗτος ὁ τῷ ὄντι ἀγαθὸς ἀνήρ... ὑπερβάσιον τὸν ἐμπαθῆ βίον, τούτῳ πάντα εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνήργηται.* Put a colon before *τούτῳ*. [So H.]

§ 66. *μὴ τι οὖν η̄ δι’ ἄγνουαν τῶν δεινῶν καὶ μὴ δεινῶν συνίσταται η̄ δειλία.* Put a question at the end. Should *οὐ* take the place of *η̄*?

P. 871. *οἱ μὲν ἀφορμὰς παρέχοντες σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιρριπτοῦντες τοῦ κινδύνους.* H. would prefer to keep the MS. *ἐπιρριπτοῦντες*, and change *παρέχοντες* to *παρέχουσιν*, if a verb is required.

§ 67, p. 872. *οὔτε γάρ διὰ φιλοτιμίαν... οὔτ’ αὐτὸν φιλοχρηματίαν... πάθει δεινῷ τῷ ἀγαθὸν μεταδιωκούτες... ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ δι’ ἀγροικίαν ἐγκρατήσαις καὶ ἀγεντος ἡδονῶν οὐδὲν κατ’ ἀλήθειαν σώφρων.* Insert *ῶν* after *ἡδονῶν*.

*Ib. καὶ τροῦ γάρ λαβόντες παρακλέπτουσι τὸν νόμον.* Either *καὶ τροῦ λαβεῖν* or *καὶ τροῦ λαβέσθαι* might stand: *καὶ τροῦ λαβεῖν* is impossible. Read *καὶ τροῦ*.

§ 69, p. 873. *δόλια φροντίδων τῶν λεγόντων διὰ φθόνον αὐτῷ δεδωκέναι.* H. would read *αὐτόν*, or *αὐτὸν αὐτῷ*.

*Ib. εἰδέναι καὶ ὅτῳ ἄν τις... καὶ ὅπως ἐπιδῷ.* Read *ἐπιδοῖη*, or else omit *ἄν*.

*Ib. οὐδενὶ μὲν ἀντικεῖσθαι λέγουμεν τὸν θέον... πάντων γάρ κτίστη καὶ οὐδέν ἔστι τῶν ὑποστάντων ὃ μὴ θέλει εἰ, φαμὲν δ’ αὐτῷ ἔχθροὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἀπειθεῖς... οἷον τὸν δειχθεύοντας αὐτὸν τῷ διαθήκῃ.* For *θέλει* read perhaps *φιλεῖ* and omit the second *τοὺς*. Put a comma after *κτίστη* and a colon before *φαμέν*.

§ 70, p. 874. *εἰκόνα ἀτεχνῶς σωζόντος ὅλη γην τῇ τῆς ἀληθείας προνοῦ.* For *ὅλην* read *ὅλην* ‘preserving entire the divine image.’

§ 72, p. 875. *οὗτος μισθὸς γνώσεως τῷ σωτῆρι καὶ διδασκάλῳ, ὃν αὐτὸς οὐτοῖς ηττησεν, τὴν ἀποχὴν τῶν κακῶν καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς εὐποιίας.* Would C. have attributed to Christ such prayers for himself? Perhaps we should insert *αὐτοῖς* after *αὐτός* with a reference to Joh. xvii. 15, 17, 18 and to 1 Cor. ix. 18.

§ 74, p. 876. *οὐ γάρ ἔστιν ὅπως ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν παιδεύθειν τοτ’ ἀν διὰ γνωστικὸς... ἀτεγκτος ἡδονᾶς γενόμενος, οὐτοτοις ὑποτίπτων ἀμαρτήμασιν ἀλλοτρίων κακῶν ὑποδείγμασιν οὐ παιδεύεται.* For *τῶν αὐτῶν* read with Heinsius *τοιούτων*, put a comma after *ἀμαρ-*

*τήμασιν*, and a full stop (instead of a comma) after *παιδεύεται*.

§ 76, p. 877. *οὗτος... κυριακὴν ἐκείνη τὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖ ὅταν ἀποβάλλῃ φανδὸν νόημα καὶ γνωστικὸν προσλάβῃ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἀνάστασιν δοξάζω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν... λάβῃ, νομίζει κ.τ.λ.* Put a comma after *προσλάβῃ* and a colon after *δοξάζω*, and read *αὐτῷ* for *αὐτῷ*.

§ 77, p. 878. *ταύτη οὐδὲ ὅναρ ποτὲ μὴ ἀρμόζον ἐκλεκτῷ βλέπει ἀτεχνός.* Ξένος *γάρ καὶ παρεπιδήμος* ἐν τῷ βίῳ. I think *ἀτεχνός* is much more forcible if joined with the following sentence, as by Potter.

*Ib. ὁ γνωστικὸς... τὴν ἀποστολικὴν ἀπονοίαν ἀνταναπληροῖ... τὰ ὅρη μεθιστάς τῶν πληρίουν καὶ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῶν ἀνωμαλίας ἀποβάλλων, καίτοι ἔκαστος ἡμῶν αὐτὸν τε τε ἀμπελῶν καὶ ἐργάτης, ὃ δὲ καὶ πράστων τὰ ἄριστα λανθάνειν βούλεται τὸν ἀνθρώπους.* Put the words *καίτοι ἔκαστος—ἐργάτης* into brackets with a comma before and after. Read *αὐτὸν* for *αὐτῶν*, and perhaps *καταβάλλων* for *ἀποβάλλων*. The reference is apparently to Isa. xl. 4.

*Ib. ὅπου γάρ ὁ νοῦς τινός, φησὶν, ἐκεὶ καὶ ὁ θρησαρὸς αὐτῷ, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν μειονεκτές πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὑπεριδεῖν ποτὲ ἐν θλίψει γενόμενον ἀδελφὸν... ἐν τούτῳ πάστηται μάλιστα ῥάον ἑαυτὸν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τὴν ἔνδον οἰσοντα.* Put a colon after *θρησαρὸς αὐτὸν*, and perhaps change the position of *μάλιστα* to before *ἴαν*. Dindorf would transpose *νοῦς* and *θρησαρός* to make the words agree with St. Matthew; but we find the same order in *De Div. Serv.* § 17, and this appears to be more in harmony with the preceding clause here *προκρίνων ταῦτα ἐξ ὧν ἔνται πεπίστευκεν*.

§ 78, p. 879. *ἔχει γάρ ἀκρατον πίστιν... τὸ εὐαγγελον δι’ ἔργων καὶ θεωρίας ἐπαίνων, καὶ δὴ οὐ τὸν ἐπαίνον παρὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸν θεοῦ καρποῦται.* For *ἐπαίνον*, which may have been corrupted through the following *ἐπαίνον*, read *ἐπεξιών* followed by a full stop.

*Ib. οὗτος περισπώμενος οὐ γενέται τῶν τῆς ιδίας ἀλπῖδος οὐ γενέται τῶν τῇδε κληρονομμάτων, μόνων τῶν ιδίων μεμημένος, τὰ δὲ ἐνταῦθα πάντα ἀλλοτρία ἥγονόμενος.* In the latter sentence I should place the comma before (instead of after) *κληρονομμάτων*.

§ 78, p. 879. ἔξειλεγμένος ὡς δίκαιος, ἡγεμονὸς δὲ...ῶς ὁ γνωστικός. Omit ὁ.

*Ib.* διὸ καὶ ἔσθιων...τὰ ἄγια ποιεῖ. Put a colon (instead of a comma) before διὸ.

§ 79, p. 880. τούτον δὲ ἥγεται τὸ εἰληφέναι τὴν γνῶσιν, καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰτεῖται...τυχεῖν μὲν τῶν ἀρίστων, φυγεῖν δὲ τὰ χειρόνα. [αἰτεῖται δὲ καὶ ἐπικουφιγμὸν περὶ ὅν ἡμαρτήσαμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ ἐπιστροφὴν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν.] οὐτῶς ὀξεῖς ἐπόμενος τῷ καλοῦντι κατὰ τὴν ἔξοδον ὡς ἔκεινος καλεῖ προάγων ὡς εἰπεῖν διὰ τὴν ἀγαθὴν συνειδησῶν σπειδόνων ἐπὶ τὸ εὐχαριστῆσαι. Put a comma instead of a full stop before τούτον, and a full stop instead of a comma after γνῶσιν. The words in brackets seem to interrupt the order of thought. The preceding clause speaks of obtaining what is best (heaven) and avoiding what is worse: the subsequent clause speaks of a prompt following of Him who calls us at our death. The intermediate clause would come more naturally after συνειδησῶν, thus supplying an easier construction for σπειδόνων. Put a comma after χειρόνα and after καλεῖ, and a full stop after συνειδησῶν.

§ 80, p. 880, μετὰ τῶν ὅμοιών διάγει τῷ πνεύματι ἐν τοῖς χροῖς τῶν ἀγίων, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἐπὶ κατέχηται, οὐτος...ἐπερευφραίνεται οὐ προίας μόνον ἀναστὰς καὶ μὲ σον ἡ μέρα σ...καὶ διδάσκει τὸν νίδν...εὐχαριστῶν δεῖ τῷ θεῷ καθάπερ τὰ ζῆτα...τὰ διὰ Ἰησάου ἀλληγορούμενα, ὑπομενητικὸς πρὸς πάσαν πείραν. ὁ κύριος, φησίν, ἔδωκεν, ὁ κύριος ἀφέλετο. Put a full stop after κατέχηται, and after ἀλληγορούμενα, a comma after πείραν. For μέσον ἡμέρας read perhaps μεσημβρίας.

*Ib.* p. 881, τὸ δὲ ὄστιν τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν δίκαια...μηνίει. ἡ δὴ ἐπιστάμενος γνωστικὸς ἦν. Put a comma after μηνίει and a full stop, instead of Dindorf's comma, after ἦν.

*Ib.* ἀσφαλῆς δὲ ἐν συμπεριφορῇ ὁ γνωστικὸς μὴ λάθῃ ἡ συμπεριφορὰ διάθεσις γένεται. Insert ἔστω before ἐν, omit ἡ and read γενομένη for γένηται.

§ 81. οὐδέποτε τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀμάρτησάντων μέμνηται, ἀλλὰ ἀφίγηστοι...ἐν γάρ ἐστι καὶ τοῦτο ὡς ὁ θεὸς βούλεται, μηδὲν ὡς ἐπιθυμεῖν μηδέπειρα μισεῖν, ἔνος γὰρ θελήματος ἔργον οἰ πάτες. Perhaps we should read μηδενὶ ἐπιφθονεῖν.

*Ib.* καὶ μῆτι τὸν γνωστικὸν τέλειον εἶναι βουλόμενος ὁ σωτῆρ ἡμῶν ὡς τὸν οὐράνιον πατέρα, τουτέστιν ἔαντον ὁ λέγων, δεῦτε τέκνα ἀκούστατέ μου φόβον κυρίου ὃν τῆς δι' ἀγγέλων βοηθείας ἐπιδεῖ εἶναι βούλεται τούτον, παρ' ἔαντον δὲ...τὴν φρουρὰν ἔχειν...διὰ τῆς ἐνταθείας. Put commas after ἔαντόν and after κυρίου and insert ὡς before ἔαντόν. Put a mark of interrogation after εἰπαθείας.

§ 81. ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀπαιτεῖ παρὰ κυρίου, [οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ αἰτεῖ] καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πενομένων ἀδελφῶν οὐκ αὐτὸς αἰτήσεται ὁ γνωστικός, οὐδὲ περιουσίαν χρημάτων εἰς μετάδοσιν, ἐκείνοις δὲ ὃν δέονται χορηγίαν. I am inclined to think that οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ αἰτεῖ was a marginal query. Otherwise I cannot see the force of καὶ. Omit the comma and οὐ after γνωστικός.

*Ib.* διδωτοι γάρ οὐτως καὶ τὴν εὐχῆν τοῖς δεομένοις ὁ γνωστικός καὶ τῷ διὰ τῆς εὐχῆς ἀγνώστως ἄμα καὶ ἀτύφως παρέχεται. For τῷ read τό, accusative after παρέχεται.

§ 82, p. 882. αὐτίκα τοῦ ἀμαρτῆσαι ἀλλότριον παριστάσας ἡ γραφὴ τοὺς μὲν παραπεσόντας τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους πιπράσκει· μὴ ἐμβλέψῃ δὲ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν ἀλλοτριά γνωστική λέγοντα, ἀντικρυς ἀλλότριον...τὴν ἀμαρτίαν λέγει. For τοῦ read τό comparing ἀλλότριον τὴν ἀμαρτίαν below. Put a full stop after πιπράσκει: the reference in ἡ γραφή is to such passages as Judges iv. 2, x. 7, Isa. 1, 1, and has nothing to do with what follows.

*Ib.* ἐπ' ἔκεινο μόνον ιέμενος, ἐφ' ὁ ἔγνω μόνον. To justify the 2nd ἐπί it seems necessary to transpose the two clauses.

*Ib.* αἰσθεταί...μετατίθεις ἐκ δουλείας εἰς νιοθείαν ἀνάκολουθα τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ [μήτε] μὴ γνοὺς τὸν θεόν, μᾶλλον δὲ γνωσθεῖς τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τέλει πρὸς ἀξίαν τῆς χάριτος ἐνδεκυνμένος τὰ ἐνεργῆματα. Dindorf brackets μήτε, and that τε has nothing to correspond to it. I am disposed to think that μήτε is a corruption of οὐτε owing to the preceding μη, and that τε should be placed after τέλει, with a comma before ἐπὶ and after ἐπιστήμῃ.

§ 83. οὐδὲ αἰσχύνεται ἀποθανεῖν εἰστυνεῖδητος ὃν ταῖς ἔξουσίαις ὀφθῆναι, πάντας...τοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποκεκαθαρίμενος σπίλους ὁ γε εὐ μάλα ἐπιστάμενος ἀμενον αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον γε εἴ εἰ σ θ αι. Put commas after αἰσχύνεται and ὃν, comparing § 78 εἰστυνεῖδητος πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον. For γενέσθαι read γενήσεσθαι.

*Ib.* τὰ πάντα ἐνὸς τοῦ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ ἵσταται. The construction ἐνὸς ἵσταται seems to be impossible, though it is passed over by all the editors. Should we read ἐξῆργηται for ἵσταται, or would it suffice to insert ἐφ' before ἐνός? Compare § 84 ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀδικεούσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ ἀδικεῖν ἵστησιν τὸν γνωστικόν.

§ 84, p. 883. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν...σπερματικῶς εἰρήσθω, ἵστεον δὲ ὅτι ἐαν ἐν τούτων ὁ πιστὸς...κατορθώσῃ, ἀλλ' οὐ τί γε ἐν πάνι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μῆτε ἐπιστήμης τῆς ἄκρας καθάπερ ὁ γνωστικός, καὶ δὴ τῆς...ἀπαθείας, καθ' ἦν ἡ τελείωσις τοῦ πιστοῦ...ἰσάγγελος ἀληθῶς γνομένη, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἀλλα...μαρτυρία ἐπεισι παρατίθεσθαι, ἀμενον δὲ οἷμαι κ.τ.λ. Put a full stop after εἰρήσθω and after γνωστικός, and a comma after γνομένη, the

genitive ἀπαθείας depending on μαρτύρια. Should we not omit the 2nd ἀλλά?

§ 85, p. 884. εἰ γάρ καὶ ἔχθρος ἡ ἀλήθεια τοὺς παραξηλοῦντας κεκτῆσθαι δοκεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐ τί γε αὐτη τη διεχθρεύεται τινι. For αὐτη read αὐτή.

Ib. διὰ τί οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἀδικεῖσθε; φησι, διὰ τί οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἀποστερεῖσθε; ἀλλὰ ὑμεῖς ἀδικεῖτε [καὶ ἀποστερεῖτε], εὐχόμενοι κατὰ τούτων δηλονότι τῶν κατ' ἄγνουν πλημμελοῦντων καὶ ἀποστερεῖτε τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας... τοὺς καὶ ὅν εἴχεσθε. The 2nd ἀποστερεῖτε is a correction by Potter for the MS. ἀποστερεῖσθε. I believe the words in brackets, which are out of place where they stand, were a marginal correction of the same.

§ 86, p. 884. οὐκ ὥν συνάγεται εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντας εἶναι, ἡ μὲν γε αὐτοῖς δοκεῖν εἶναι ἀδελφός. Perhaps we should read <ἀλλ> ἡμῖν γε αὐτοὺς δοκεῖν <δεῖν> εἶναι.

Ib. πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἔνδοντας ἔργον θεοῦ... ὁ ἐπιστήμων γνωρίζει καὶ διὰ τῶν κτισμάτων τὴν ἐνέργειαν, δὲ ἡς αὐθίς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ προσκυνεῖ, ἡ οὐδὲ οὐδατεῖ ὅτι ἀδικοὶ βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν; Can κτισμάτων be a corruption of βατισμάτων? See just below καὶ ταῦτα τίνεις ἡτε... ἀλλὰ ἀπελούσασθε. Put a full stop after προσκυνεῖ.

§ 87, p. 885. μὴ γάρ οὐ 'πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔξουσιοθήσομαι,' φησι, παρὰ τὸ ἐναγγέλιον τι ποιήσαι... ἡ λαλῆσαι, τὰ δὲ βρώματα κ.τ.λ. Remove the mark of interrogation after ἔξεστιν and place it after λαλῆσαι.

Ib. βιοῦντας ὡς διὰ τὸ ἐσθίειν γενομένους, μὴ οὐχὶ δὲ ἐσθίοντας ἵνα ζῶσι μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον, κατὰ δὲ τὸ προπομένον τὴν γνώσει προσανέχοντας. We should have expected of course προσανέχωσιν. It seems to me more probable that this should have been corrupted owing to the preceding participles, than that C. should have used such an awkward construction as the text presents.

Ib. καὶ μή τι οἷον σάρκας εἶναι τοῦ ἀγίου σώματος τούτους φησι. Put a question after φησι.

Ib. τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦτο πνευματικὸν... οὐ τὴ πορνεῖα, οὐδὲ τὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἀποστάσει, ἀ τὸ πρὸς τὸν ἔθνικὸν βίον κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον... οἰκειωτέον. Omit ἀ and remove the preceding comma: πρὸς connects ἀποστάσει with τὸν ἔθνικὸν βίον.

§ 88, p. 885. πορνεῖα γάρ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ σῶμα ὁ ἔθνικὸς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ποιεινόμενος. For αὐτοῦ, which has no reference, read perhaps ἄγιον, as we have immediately below another body distinguished from this, as οὐχ ἄγιον.

§ 88, p. 885. ὁ ταύτη κολλώμενος τῇ πόρη, τῇ παρὰ τὴν διαθήκην ἐνέργεια, ἄλλο σῶμα γίνεται, οὐχ ἄγιον εἰς σάρκα μιαν καὶ βίον <ἔχει> ἔθνικὸν καὶ ἀλληρ ἐλπίδα, ὁ δὲ κολλώμενος τῷ κυρίῳ [ἐν πνεύματι πνευματικὸν σῶμα] τὸ διάφορον τῆς συνόδου γένος νῦν οὗτος ἀπα. Put a full stop at the beginning instead of Dindorf's comma: remove the comma from before to after οὐχ ἄγιον, and put a colon after ἐλπίδα. The insertion of ᔁχει seems to me unnecessary. The construction of τὸ διάφορον γένος, as cognate accusative after κολλώμενος, would be clearer if πνευματικὸν σῶμα were put after γένος. It is tempting to restore the original ἐν πνεύματι ἔστι for ἐν πνεύματι, in which case the whole clause which I have bracketed must be put after γένος and separated by a colon from νῦν.

Ib. p. 886. μή τι οὖν τέλειοι γίνεσθαι διφείλομεν, ὡς ὁ πατήρ βούλεται. Put a question after βούλεται.

§ 89, p. 886. After speaking of the necessity of meeting the objections of opponents C. continues εὖ ἀν ἔχοι, πρότερον διακαθάραντας τὰ ἐμποδὼν εὐτρέπειαν εἰς τὸν ἔχει προσέναι στρωματά. Put a comma after λύσεις and read εὐτρέπως.

Ib. p. 887. λέγοντες μὴ δεῖν πιστεύειν διὰ τὴν διαφωνίαν τῶν αἰρέσεων, παρατείνειν εἰ γάρ καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια ἄλλων ἄλλα δογματιζόντων. This is an objection drawn from the differences among Christians: 'the voice of truth is drowned amid the din of conflicting assertions.' But no violence will get anything like this sense out of παρατείνει. Hoeschel suggested παραφθίνει (not παραφάνει, as Dindorf states), which is not found elsewhere, but would suit the context very well.

Ib. οὐ δήποτε φατέ δεῖν ὄκνειν ἥτοι φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ Ἰουδαῖζεν τῆς διαφωνίας ἔνεκα. For καὶ read ἥ.

§ 90. μή τι οὖν... ἀφεξόμεθα τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ἡμεῖς. Put a question after ἡμεῖς.

§ 91. p. 888. Full stop, instead of comma, after ἀποστατέον.

§ 92. ἐν μόνῃ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἡ τε ἀκριβεστάτη γνῶσις καὶ ἡ τῷ ὄντι ἀριστη αἴρεσι, τῶν τε κ.τ.λ. Read ἀληθεῖ for ἀληθείᾳ. It is a mere truism to say that 'the most exact knowledge is in the truth.' What C. maintains is that it is in the true Church, cf. below § 100, p. 894 οἱ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ ἡ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἡ ἀληθης and § 107 τὴν ἀληθῆ ἐκκλησίαν τὴν τῷ ὄντι ἀρχαίαν. Put a full stop after αἴρεσι and read δέ for the following τε.

§ 93, p. 889. ὁ τὴν αἰώνιον ἐλπίζων ἀνάπτωσιν γνώσκει καὶ τὴν εἰσόδον αὐτῆς

ἐπίτονον οδσαν... ὅ τε ἄπαξ εἰναγγειλισθεὶς καὶ τὸ σωτήριον, φρσὶν, ἐν ᾧ ὥρᾳ ἐπιγνῷ, μὴ ἐπιστρεφέσθω εἰς τὰ ὅπισα. For τε read δέ and for ἐπιγνῷ read perhaps ἐπέγνω, inserting after it <μετὰ χαρᾶς λαβών> from Matt. xiii. 20.

§ 93, p. 889. ὅ γὰρ φιλῶν πατέρα...νπὲρ ἐμὲ...οὐκ ἔστι μοι ἄξιος, λέγει τοῦ εἶναι νιὸς θεοῦ... καὶ συγγενῆς. Put a comma after λέγει and a full stop, instead of a comma, after συγγενῆς. There should be a full stop again at the end of the quotation from Luke ix. 62, which follows; as it has nothing to do with the comparison between the Virgin Mother and the Scriptures, with which the § ends.

§ 94, p. 890. τέτοκεν καὶ οὐ τέτοκεν φησὶν ἡ γραφὴ, ὡς ἀν ἐξ αὐτῆς...συλλαβοῦσα, διόπερ τοῖς γνωστικοῖς κεκυκάσται αἱ γραφαί. αἱ δὲ αἱρέσεις οὐκ ἐκμαθοῦσαι ὡς μὴ κεκυκηκάσται παραπέμπονται. Put a comma before and after φησὶν, a full stop after συλλαβοῦσα and a colon after γραφαί.

Ιb. οἱ τοιοῦτοι δὲ ἀτε ποτεσόντες τῆς ὄρθης ὁδοῦ καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν κατὰ μέρος σφάλλονται. For καὶ read κάν.

§ 95. καθάπερ οὖν εἰ τις ἐξ ἀνθρώπων θηρίον γένοιτο...οὗτος ἀνθρώπος εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πιστὸς τῷ κυρίῳ διαμένειν, ἀπολάθεκεν ὁ ἀναλακτίας κ.τ.λ. For ἀνθρώπων read ἀνθρώπον as we have just below ἐξ ἀνθρώπου θεός ἀποτελεῖται. Omit the comma after διαμένειν, which is governed by ἀπολάθεκεν.

Ιb. ὅ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ πιστὸς τῷ κυριακῷ... φωνῇ ἀξιόπιστος εἰκότως ἀν δὲ τοῦ κυρίου πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαν ἐνεργοῦν μέν εἰναι η. Dindorf after Klots has printed the nominative by mistake for the dative ἐνεργούμένη of the older editions. The true reading is, I believe, ἐνεργούμενος: 'he who believes the word of the Lord is worthy of credit, being one who would be naturally actuated by the Lord for the benefit of men.' Put a colon, instead of a comma, after κριτηρίῳ in the following sentence.

§ 96, p. 891. οὐθ' ὡς λέγονται γινώσκοντες οὐθ' ὡς ἔχειν πεφύκασι χρώμενοι, αἱς καὶ δὴ κομιζοντοι ἐκλογαῖς. Put the comma before, instead of after, χρώμενοι.

Ιb. οὐτ' ἔχοντιν ὅπως διάθωνται τὰς αὐτῶν δόξας βιαζόμενοι τὰς γραφάς, φθάσαντες δὲ ἔξενεγκεῖν...δόγματα ψευδῆ...ἐλεγχόμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὑπομένονται, τὰ μὲν μὴ προσιέσθω τῶν προφητικῶν, τὰ δὲ [ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς]...μὴ οἵους τε εἶναι συνεῖναι τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐκείνοις διαβάλλονται. Put a full stop after τὰ μὲν, and change διαβάλλονται to διαβάλλονται. The οὕτως at the end of the § seems to be

merely a ditto of that at the beginning of § 97.

§ 97, p. 892. ὄρθωντες οὖν τὸν κίνδυνον αὐτοῖς οὐ περὶ ἑνὸς δόγματος, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὸ τὰς αἱρέσεις διατηρεῖν οὐ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐξευρίσκειν, τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ προ χείριν ἐντυχόντες... κατεφρόνησαν, ὑπερβῆναι δὲ σπονδύσαντες τὸ κοινόν τῆς πότεως, ἐξέβησαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. For τὸ read τοῦ, put a comma after διατηρεῖν, for προχέιρως read προχέιρος. Bracket τοῖς μὲν...κατεφρόνησαν as parenthetical, ἐξευρίσκειν being governed by σπονδύσαντες.

§ 98. οὐκ ἀναγκαῖς ἀρχὰς πραγμάτων καταβαλλόμενοι δόξαις τε ἀνθρωπίναις κεκινημένοι. Read δέ for τε.

Ib. πάντα μᾶλλον ὑπομένοντι...ηπερ μετατίθεται [ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας] τῆς αἱρέσεως. Perhaps the words in brackets were lost from before ὑπομένοντι, owing to the recurrence of ὑπό, and have been wrongly inserted where they stand.

Ib. τριτὴ δὲ θεραπεία οἰγέσεως...μάθησίς τε τοῦ αἰτίου καὶ τὸ πῶς ἀν ἐξαιρεθείη τοῦτο...καὶ ὁ ἔθισμὸς πρὸς τοῖς κριθεῖσιν ὄρθως ἔχειν ἀκολουθεῖν δύνασθαι. For τό read τοῦ, and insert τό before τοῖς κριθεῖσιν.

§ 101, p. 894. ἀλλο μὲν τι εἶναι ἡδονὴν ἦν εν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπονεμητέον, ἀλλο δέ τι ἔριν ἦν ἐν ταῖς αἱρέσεις προκριτέον. Omit ἐν after ἦν in each case, and read προκριτέον.

§ 102, p. 895 εἴη μὲν <ἀν> οὖν τούσδε τὸν αἱρετικὸν...σωφρονισθῆναι τε καὶ ἐπιστρέψαι τὸ τὸν παντοκράτορα θεόν. εἱ δὲ καθάπερ οἱ κωφοὶ τῶν ὄφεων...μὴ ἐπαίσουεν σματος, παιδεύειν οὖν πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ...ἀλλο μὴ εἰς τὴν πατελῆ φέροντες ἑαυτοὺς...ἐμβάλοιεν κρίσιν. Dindorf's ἀν is not required: εἴη is pure optative, like παιδεύειν in the next sentence.

Ib. ταῦτη μὲν ἀποτρέψαι βιολόμενος τῆς εἰς τὰς αἱρέσεις ἐνεμπτωτίας τοὺς φιλομαθοῦντας παρεθέμην, τοὺς δὲ τῆς ἐπιπολαζούσης...ἀμαθίας...ἀποταῦνται γλιχόμενος...τούσδε συνεχρόσαμεν τοῖς λόγοις. Put a colon after παρεθέμην, and a comma before ἀποτρέψαι and after φιλομαθοῦντας.

§ 103, p. 896. τῆς ἀλήθειας τὴν παρρησίαν ἀποτέλεσθαι, καίσονται τὰς ψευδεῖς δόξας. Instead of the comma insert καὶ which has been lost before καίσονται.

Ib. ἐπεχέτω τὰ ὡτα τῆς ψυχῆς. So Dindorf without note and without reason for ὑπερέτω in the older editions.

Ib. ῥαβυμόντι μὲν γὰρ οἱ παρὸν τὰς οἰκείας ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν γραφῶν πορίζεσθαι ἀποδεῖξεις τὸ παράπον καὶ ταῖς ηδοναῖς αὐτῶν συναρμόνεον ἐκλεγόμενον. Put a comma before παρόν and after ἀποδεῖξεις.

§ 104. ὄρθοτα βιοὶ τὰς ἀποδεῖξεις ἀν ἐπιζητήσῃ ἀνευρίσκειν, ἀν απεμπόμενος

ἵπο τοῦ κυρίου, ἀπό τε νόμου καὶ προφῆτῶν. I am disposed to read παραπέμπουσος, which is a favourite word with C., translating 'being helped along by the Lord to discover the proofs, whatever they may be, which he is in search of.' Compare § 109 τὴν δὲ πίστιν καὶ τὴν βάσιν δὲ νοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα παραπέμπονταν οὐκ ἔχοντι, Αποκ. ii. 17 τί οὖν τὸ παραπέμψαι δινάμενον; φιλοσοφία. Put a comma after βιοῖ and remove those after ἀνεπίσκεψαι and after κυρίον.

§ 107, p. 898. After mentioning Glauclias a disciple of Peter, and Theodas a disciple of Paul, C. continues Μαρκίων γάρ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτοῖς ἡλικίαν γενόμενος ὡς πρεσβύτης νεωτέρους συνεγένετο. H. reads Μάρκος for Μαρκίων, following Gieselear in *A.L.Z.* 1823, p. 826.

§ 899. ἐνὸς γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐνὸς τοῦ κυρίου. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ἄκρως τίμιον κατὰ τὴν μάνωσιν ἐπανέται μίμημα δὲ ἀρχῆς τῆς μιᾶς. Remove the stop after κυρίον, comparing

§ 91 δυσέργον τῆς ἀληθείας τυγχανούσης, διὰ τοῦτο γεγόνασιν αἱ ζητήσεις.

§ 103, p. 900. διὰ τὸν οὖν τινὰ ὑποδείξαντες τοῖς φιλοθεάμοσι... ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὰς θυσίας νόμου περὶ τὴν Ιουδαίον... περὶ τε τῶν αἰρέσεων μοστικῶν διακρινομένων, ὡς ἀκαθάρτων ἀπὸ τῆς [περὶ καθαρῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρτων ζώνων] θείας ἐκκλησίας καταπαύσωμεν τὸν λόγον. Lowth transferred the words in brackets putting them after νόμον. This necessary transposition is unnoticed by Dindorf. Put a comma before ἀπό and after ἐκκλησίας.

§ 110, p. 901. σποραδην, ὡς ὑπεσχήμεθα, καὶ διερρυμένως τὰ ζώπυρα τῶν τῆς ἀληθοῦς γνώσεως ἐγκατασπειράντων δόγμάτων... μετίωμεν. Read ἐγκατασπειράντες δογμάτων.

J. B. MAYOR.

P.S.—The eighth book being entirely unconnected with the preceding books, and probably belonging to Clement's later work, the *Ὑποτυπώσεις*, I shall here terminate my notes on the *Stromateis*.

#### MISCELLANEA CRITICA.

##### I.

1. THE action of Sophocles's *Antigone* begins early in the morning of the day following the battle of the chieftains. The Argive army has fled in the night (see vv. 100 *sqq.*). Antigone brings Ismene without the palace (v. 18 *sqq.*) to tell her of the proclamation just (*ἀρτίως*, v. 8) made by Creon. Of this Antigone has been informed privately (v. 9 *sqq.*) and unofficially (ὡς λέγοντι, v. 23; φασιν, v. 27; φασι, v. 31). After telling Ismene what is reported of the proclamation Antigone continues (vv. 31 *sqq.*):

τοιαῦτα φασι τὸν ἀγαθὸν Κρέοντα σοὶ κάμοι—λέγω γὰρ κάμε—κηρίζαντ' ἔχειν καὶ δὲντρο νεῖσθαι ταῦτα τοῖσι μὴ εἰδόσιν σαφῇ προκηρύξοντα κτέ.

The words φασι δὲντρο νεῖσθαι, taken in connection with Antigone's previous designation of Creon as 'the general' (*τὸν στρατηγὸν*, v. 8; see Prof. Humphreys's excellent note), would naturally lead us to suppose that Creon had made his proclamation before the army, but was not yet returned to the palace, where he intended to make a second proclamation τοῖσι μὴ εἰδόσιν. With this supposition everything seems to be in accord. It is, therefore, somewhat sur-

prising to find Professor Campbell apparently the only supporter of this view of the situation. (See his *Sophocles*, i.<sup>2</sup> p. 455: 'Creon may not have followed far [in the pursuit of the Argives] and may have been recalled by the cares of State, though he is only returning to the palace when the elders encounter him.' [The italics are mine.]) Professor Jebb says (on vv. 162-331): 'Creon, the new king, enters from the central door of the palace.' So too Professor Semitíeos (on vv. 162-331): 'Ἐν φρόνῳ δὲ χορὸς η μᾶλλον ὁ κορυφαῖος ἀπήγγελε τὸν προγονούμενος ἀναπαιστόν, ὁ Κρέων ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τῆς μέσης τῶν κατὰ τὴν σκηνὴν τριῶν θυρῶν ἔχωρε ἐπὶ τὸ προσκήνιον κτέ.' But according to what seems a sound interpretation of Sophocles's own words, as quoted above, Creon would have entered from the side, as one coming from the battle-field.

2. In *Ant.* 178 the word γὰρ has given several commentators needless trouble. To make the matter clear I will briefly analyze Creon's speech from the beginning. 'The gods have righted the ship of state (vv. 162 *sqq.*), but I have summoned you, because I know your loyalty to Laius, to Oedipus, and to Eteocles and Polynices (vv. 164-169). Since, then, they are dead, the supreme power in the state reverts to me by virtue

of consanguinity (vv. 170-174). A less adroit prince than Creon might next have said: 'Therefore I expect you to be loyal to me.' But Creon continues: 'But it is impossible to know any man's temper, till he be tried in office (vv. 175-177).' Then follow the words *ἔμοὶ γὰρ κτέ*, which, if we are not tied down to the belief that *γὰρ* always = 'for,' we shall naturally render: 'In my eyes then,' &c. So we shall regard *ἔγώ γάρ* in v. 184 as resuming *ἔμοὶ γὰρ*, and shall render: 'I then'; and, finally, we shall regard *ἔγώ* in v. 191 as a resumption of the other two *ἔγώ*'s. Whether or not we should write in vv. 178 and 184 *γ' ἄρ* I will not undertake to decide. But I would call attention to Professor Jebb's very laboured explanation of the two *γάρ*'s (each = 'for'!) in his commentary and (as an *exemplum in terrorem*) to M. Tournier's note in his *Appendice Critique*: 'Gáρ, loin de marquer l'enchaînement des idées, ne sert qu'à en troubler l'ordre. Il faut écrire *ἔμοὶ μὲν*.' It is a relief to find Mr. Blaydes writing (on v. 178): 'ἔμοὶ γὰρ— "Now to me, to me then," &c. In explanation of the preceding sentiment.'

It may be added that the fact that vv. 178-190 are resumed for transition's sake in v. 191 in the form *τοιοῦσδ' ἔγώ νόμοισι τάχινδ' αὖξω πόλιν* excludes M. Tournier's otherwise plausible *θρόνουσιν* (for *νόμουσιν*) in v. 177. We see, furthermore, that *νόμοι* in both places means 'principles of conduct.' This brings us to the pertinent question, What does *ἄρχαις* (v. 178) mean?

We have gathered from v. 191 that vv. 178-190 are an explanation of *νόμουσιν* in v. 177. We find, furthermore, that v. 192 is contrasted (*καὶ νῦν*) with v. 191. If we accept the traditional reading in v. 191 (*τάχινδ' αὖξω πόλιν*) which is well supported by Plato (*Laws* 731 A, cited also by Professor Jebb), we must see here, not a contrast of *time* (between a future *ἄρξω* or *αὖξω* and *νῦν*), but a contrast of another sort. There must then, be a contrast between *νόμουσιν* and something else. That 'something else' is the *κίρωμα* implied in *κηρύξας ἔχω*, and the contrast is, in more general terms, between 'principle' and 'conduct,' or 'action.' We may, then, venture to interpret *ἄρχαις* as 'actions of a ruler.' Thus we have a chiastic arrangement: (a) *ἄρχαις* (v. 177); (b) *νόμουσιν* (v. 177); (b) *ἔμοὶ γὰρ—ποιούμεθα* (vv. 178-190); (a) *καὶ νῦν—πέρι* (vv. 192-3),—the last fully explained in the verses that follow. Nor is this at all too subtle for Sophocles.

3. In *Ant.* 580 *sqq.* we read: *φεύγουσι γάρ τοι χοι θρασεῖς, ὅταν πέλας ἥδη τὸν Αἰδην εἰσορώσῃ τοῦ βίου.*

Professor Humphreys's note on v. 581 is interesting: 'βίοι depends on πέλας (οὕτα): without limiting gen., Eur. *Alc.* 24 ἥδη δὲ τόνδε θάνατον εἰσορώπηλας (visible presence).' The parallelism between the expression in the *Antigone* and that in the *Alcestis* is indeed striking, though Professor Humphreys calls no further attention to it. The 'visible presence' of Thanatos seems to be thought of by Sophocles almost as distinctly as by Euripides. Again in *Ant.* 806 *sqq.* we read:

*ὅρπτ' ἔμ', ὃ γὰς πατρίας πολίται τὰν νεάταν ὅδὸν στείχουσαν, νέατον δὲ φέγγος λεύσσουσαν ἀλέιον, κούποτ' αὐθίς· ἀλλά μ' ὁ παγκότας Αἰδας ζώσαν ἄγει τὰν Ἀχέροντος ἀκτάν, κτέ.*

With these words of the doomed Antigone we may compare those of the dying Alcestis (*Alc.* 259-263), particularly *ἄγει μ' ἄγει μέτις* and *πεπεροτὸς Αἰδας* with *ἀλλά μ' ὁ—ἄγει, and οἴαν ὅδὸν—προβαίνω* with *τὰν—στείχουσαν*. But we find a still more noticeable parallel to the *Alcestis* in this passage of the *Antigone*. In *Alc.* 205-208 the traditional text is:

*ὅμως δέ, καίπερ σμικρὸν ἐμπνέοντος ἔτι, βλέψαι πρὸς αὐγὰς βούλεται τὰς ἥλιουν, ὃς οὐποτ' αὐθίς, ἀλλὰ νέν πανάστατον, ἀκτίνα κύκλου δ' ἥλιου προσόφεται.*

Valckenaer and Hermann have condemned vv. 207-8, and I have followed them in my text. But a comparison of the words in the *Antigone* *νέατον—κούποτ'* *αὐθίς* has suggested a somewhat different treatment. The expression in the *Antigone* is noticeable for its ellipsis: after *κούποτ'* *αὐθίς* we must mentally supply *δύομέναν* or the like. Now in the *Alcestis* we shall have the same sort of expression (indeed, almost the same expression), if we simply drop v. 208 and put a full stop at the end of v. 207. We can then the more readily understand the introduction of *Hec.* 212 into the text of the *Alcestis*.

Of course, all this, if sound, is but a further support of the theory of a close relation between the *Alcestis* and the *Antigone*.

4. In *Ant.* 795 *sq.*,  
 νικᾶι δ' ἐναργῆς βλεφάρων ἵμερος εὐλέκτρον  
 νιμφας,

Professor Campbell's sound adherence to the Greek order of words has led him to join νικᾶι and ἐναργῆς ('i.e. ἐναργῆς ἐστὶ νικῶσα'). But this is not the end of the matter. In *Thuc.* 7, 55. 1 we find Γεγενη-  
 μένης δὲ τῆς νίκης τοῖς Σιγακοσίοις λαμπρ-  
 ρᾶς ἥδη κτέ. Here the parallel passages

cited make it extremely probable that we should accept Classen's λαμπρῶς (Mr. Holden, who keeps λαμπρᾶς, cites λαμπρῶς ἐνίκα from *Plut. Sull.* 29, 5). At all events, νικᾶν λαμπρῶς seems to have been a current expression (cf. *Schol. Ar. Ran.* 73 *Dind.*), and we need not hesitate to see in the Sophoclean phrase a poetical νικᾶι δὲ λαμπρῶς. Shall we not then read νικᾶι δ' ἐναργῆς?

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

### THE EMPEROR CLAUDIUS AND THE CHIEFS OF THE AEDUI.

In connection with his account of Claudius' censorship, Tacitus<sup>1</sup> tells us that when the revision of the senate was in progress, the chiefs of Gallia Comata, that is to say, of the provinces known as the 'Three Gauls' who had been for a long time Roman citizens, asked for the right of obtaining honours in the city (*jus adipecendorum in urbe honorum*); or, as Tacitus expresses it in a later passage, for the right of senators (*senatorum jus*). The question at once arises how it was that these chiefs being already Roman citizens were disqualified from standing for office in Rome; and secondly, what was the nature of the relief which Claudius gave them.

The ordinary explanation is that given by Mr. Furneaux<sup>2</sup> in his note on the passage. It is supposed that when the Roman franchise was conferred by Julius or Augustus upon the fathers or grandfathers of these Gallic chieftains, it was granted in a restricted and imperfect form and that the *jus honorum* was withheld. In support of this supposition, the analogy is quoted of the imperfect franchise (*civitas sine suffragio*) anciently granted by Rome to some of the Italian communities. It is further assumed that what Claudius did was to make this imperfect franchise complete. There are however serious objections to this view of the matter. The granting of the *civitas sine suffragio* has not been infrequent at one period in the history of Rome, but there is no instance of its bestowal later than 184 B.C., and the great majority of the instances known to us belong to a much earlier period. It is scarcely likely that so

antiquated a precedent should have suggested a policy to Julius or Augustus. There is again no evidence that the *jus honorum* was treated as a distinct privilege separable from the other rights included in the franchise. It is obviously unlikely that the separation should have been made in this one case alone and that a peculiar disability should have been imposed upon the chiefs of Gaul, especially in view of the pains taken by both Julius and Augustus to conciliate these powerful chieftains, and of the fact that Julius in particular went to the length of admitting some of them to the senate.

The truth is that inability to stand for public office in Rome was not a disqualification peculiar to the Gaulish chiefs or even to provincials generally, but one which extended equally to natives of Italy whose ancestors had for generations been Roman citizens. It seems to be certain that in the time of Claudius even a Roman knight was not accepted as a candidate for a magistracy unless he were possessed of the broad stripe which marked senatorial rank. It must also be remembered that this case of the Gaulish chieftains arose directly in connection with the revision of the senatorial roll, and that Tacitus, in the later of the two passages referred to above, implies that it was the dignity of senator or, more accurately, the rights of senators for which the chiefs asked and which they obtained. If we turn to the fragments that remain of Claudius' speech, it becomes clear that what he is dealing with is not so much a constitutional disability or any inherent defect in the status of the Gauls as Roman citizens, but a deep-seated Roman prejudice against the admission of these barbarians to the senate. The inference seems to be that

<sup>1</sup> *Ann.* 11, 23.

<sup>2</sup> Furneaux, *Ann. Tac.* vol. 2, p. 186. Schiller, *Gesch. d. Kaiserzeit.* 1. 329.

the real obstacle in the path of these noble Gauls was the fact that, though Roman citizens and very probably in some cases Roman knights, they had not the broad senatorial stripe and that therefore the doors of the senate-house were closed to them. There were two recognized methods by which such an obstacle could be removed. In the first place, the emperor might have granted to them the broad stripe alone. The effect of such a concession would have been that the Gaulish nobles (*insignes viri*) whom Claudius saw before him as he spoke would have been at once enabled to offer themselves for the quaestorship and would thus have found the way open both to a seat in the senate and to the higher magistracies. Their course would have been that concisely described by Pliny (*epp. 2, 9*), when speaking of what he had done for a countryman of his own. 'I obtained for him,' he says, 'from Caesar the broad stripe and I afterwards obtained for him the quaestorship.' Many other instances might be quoted from the inscriptions. This however does not seem to have been the method employed by Claudius on this occasion. He was acting as censor, and he alludes in his speech 'to this part of my censorship,' but the grant of the broad stripe was not a censorial act. It seems to have been connected with the emperor's right of nomination, or in other words with his right of testing and approving the qualifications of candidates, in doing which he was free to supply the qualifications which were lacking, whether it were the broad stripe or the required amount of property. Moreover, the general tenor of Claudius' speech seems to imply that it is not the grant of the broad stripe, but the alternative method, that of direct admission into the senate (*adlectio*), which he has in view.

In other words, the conclusion to which Claudius' speech points, is that, in revising the senate as censor, he had proposed directly to admit these Gaulish chieftains to the senate, and probably to admit them into the ranks of the *Quaestorii*, the lowest category of senators, a precedent followed in many cases by Vespasian. The Gauls who were thus 'adlecti inter quaestorios,' would become senators and eligible for the higher magistracies. Moreover their sons would rank as *laticlavii*, along with other senators' sons and would be qualified in their turn to stand for the quaestorship, and to obtain through the quaestorship a seat in the senate. This direct admission to the senate was an act well within the rights of

Claudius as censor. Why then did he feel it necessary to consult the senate on the point? In all probability, because the admission of Gaulish chiefs from the Three Gauls was a new departure for which it was at least politic to obtain the sanction of the senate. Never before, it would seem, had provincials found their way into the senate except from such old established and thoroughly Romanized provinces as Narbonese Gaul and Spain. Indeed Claudius himself, when justifying this part of his censorship, confesses that he is stepping with some timidity outside the limits hitherto observed. He had in fact to encounter a strong prejudice. Nothing that Julius did excited more odium at Rome than his admission to the senate of 'semibarbari Galli,' and the prejudice reappears in Seneca's Satire on Claudius. Nor was the prejudice altogether unreasonable. The Gaulish chiefs of Gallia Comata were not only disliked on sentimental grounds as belonging to the race which had once sacked Rome, but their actual position was somewhat different from that of the wealthy citizens of a Greek or Asiatic community. They were wealthy, they were ambitious, but the distinctive feature of their position was that, though the communities to which they belonged were outwardly organized on the Roman model, these men were still great chiefs enjoying great prestige among their countrymen and with large followings of obedient vassals and clansmen. Very much of the old tribal feeling still survived among the clans of the Three Gauls, and their leading men retained much of the peculiar influence and authority associated with the tribal chieftainship. This tribal feeling, supported as it was by a strong national sentiment, was throughout the first century A.D. a possible element of danger to Roman authority. In the reign of Tiberius, at the time of the rebellion of Sacrovir, Julius Florus appeared in the field with a vast train of clients and dependents much in the style of a Highland chief of the eighteenth century. More recently, according to Tacitus, Valerius Asiaticus, though a native of Narbonese Gaul and of the colony of Vienne, had been suspected of treasonable designs which were rendered more dangerous from his extensive connections among his countrymen (*gentiles*). A similar feeling of clanship is mentioned by Dio Cassius as a source of strength to the Aquitanian chief Gaius Julius Vindex, when he rose against Nero.

The speech in which Claudius combated

this prejudice and advocated the continuance of the liberal policy which had made Rome great, was as a matter of course convincing. A decree of the senate was passed, no fragments of which have survived, but which probably merely expressed approval of Claudius' intended action. The result was the admission to the senate of the chiefs of one single tribe, the Aedui. There is no evidence that the chiefs of any other tribes were admitted at this time, or that any general concession, such as Mr. Furneaux speaks of, was now made to the Gauls. The selection of the Aeduan chiefs as the first recipients of this special favour was quite natural. It was due, as Tacitus tells us, to the old and intimate connection between the Aedui and Rome, a connection which would render the new departure more acceptable in their case than in that of any other tribe; but the precedent thus set by Claudius was

an important one, and the example of Claudius was followed on a more liberal scale by Vespasian, and by the emperors of the second century. If however the view which I have stated above is correct, the credit of initiating the policy of freely admitting provincials of the senate, and of thus investing the senate with a genuinely imperial character, must be given to Claudius. I will close with one more suggestion. It is at least conceivable that this admission of Gaulish chiefs to the senate may not have been unconnected with the measures which Claudius is said to have taken against Druidism. Claudius may have hoped by this concession to render those measures more acceptable, and to strengthen Roman sympathies among the leading men of central and northern Gaul.

H. F. PELHAM.

#### THREE GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON PROPERTIUS.

iii. 7, 21, 22.

*Sunt Agammonias testantia litora curas  
Qua (Quae V) notat Argynni poena  
minantis aquae.*

In my dissertation of 1872 I suggested that 22 should be written either

*Qua notat Argynni poena Mimantis aquas*

or—

*Quae notat Argynni poena, Mimantis aquae.*

But I had then found to connect Argynnus or Agamemnon with the neighbourhood of Mount Mimas, besides the promontory Argennon, only the statement of Paus. vii. 5, 6, that Agamemnon was specially honoured in the neighbourhood of Clazomenae. To this may now be added the legend mentioned by Strabo xiv. C 639, where he speaks of Ephesus and the places adjacent, εἴτε Νεάπολις...εἴτε Πύγελα πολίχνιον, ιερὸν ἔχον Ἀρτέμιδος Μουνχίας, θέρυχα Ἀγαμένονος, οἰκούμενον ὑπὸ μέρους τὸν ἔκεινον λαῶν πνγαλύεας γάρ τινας καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ κληρήγαν, κάρνοντας δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πάλον καταμεῖναν, καὶ τυχεῖν οἰκείον τοῦδε τὸν ὄνοματος τὸν τόπον. Cf. *Etym. M.* s.v. Πύγελα. From Clazomenae Teos and M. Mimas the distance along the coast to Ephesus is

inconsiderable, and there is nothing wonderful in Agamemnon's rowers being found here and giving their name, traditionally, to a place called Pygela. Livy xxxvii. 11 calls it *Pygela portus*.

Amongst others who were shipwrecked in the neighbourhood of M. Mimas, Phaedrus *Fab.* iv. 23, 17 mentions the poet Simonides.

ii. 13, 47, 48.

*Cui si longaeuae minuisset fata senectae  
†Gallicus Iliacis miles in aggeribus.*

The allusion, I believe, is to the Gallo-Graeci whose reputation for daring and desperate courage is mentioned by Livy xxxvii. 8 *Etiam in Gallograeciam miserat: bellicosiores ea tempestate erant, Gallicos adhuc, nondum exoleta stirpe gentis, seruantes animos.* ib. 18 *Plurimum terroris in Gallorum mercede conductis quattuor milibus erat.* 'Had Nestor encountered at Troy some fierce Galatian soldier, instinct with the fury of his native country Gaul, and thus died prematurely.' The anachronism is (no doubt) patent; but (1) it is not alien from Propertius' practice, (2) *Gallicus* need mean nothing more than a soldier of the type so well known as Gallo-Greek, i.e. desperate and unsparing.

iv, 3, 37, 38.

*Cogor et e tabula pictos ediscere mundos  
Qualis et educti sit positura Dahi.*

*Dahi*, which I have before defended, *J. of Philol.* xxii. 72, cf. Postgate *C.P.L.* ad. loc., is well illustrated by *Livy* xxxv.

48 *Nominibus quoque gentium uix fando  
auditis terrebat, Dahas Medos Elymaeosque  
et Cadusios appellans.* The name Daan or Dahan was a more or less *indeterminate* one, and would have to be looked out on the map.

R. ELLIS.

## GERMAN OPINION ON GREEK JUSSIVES.

(Conclusion.)

IT is no easy task to bring proof positive to show that the aorist stem function is that of 'concluded action.' So far our arguments have been indirect, and, for the most part, merely subversive of other systems. We have raised objections both to the 'momentary' theory as well as to that of 'eintretende Handlung' (I use the original term as it denotes more than we express by ingressive action). Considerations however are not wanting which go to establish a high degree of probability for the hypothesis of 'concluded action.'

1. We have first the analogy of the corresponding idiom in the Slavonic tongues. It should here be noted that at least in modern Polish the form corresponding to the Greek aorist is sometimes formed not by change in the stem, but by prefixing a preposition meaning end. Professor Hatzidakis of the *πανεπιστήμιον* of Athens has already called attention to the value of the Slavonic languages towards the solution of the problem we are now discussing. In a review of Flegel's *Geschichte der Arten der Handlung in Europa*<sup>1</sup> he tells us that western scholars were for a long time led astray in their classification of Greek tenses through the influence of Roman grammarians, whereas the Slavonic nations best preserved the traditions of the Byzantine grammarians, because, to quote his own words,<sup>2</sup> *βοηθούμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως τῆς γλώσσης αὐτῶν, διαστελλούσης ἄριστα τὰς συγγενείας ταύτας* (the affinities of the various tenses when classified not *κατὰ τὴν χρονολογικὴν βαθμίδα* but *κατὰ τὴν ποιότητα τῆς ἐνέργειας*) *οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀπέβαλον ὅτι παρὰ τῶν Ελληνικῶν παρελαβον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνέπτυξαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀλώβητον κατὰ*

*πάντας σχέδον τοὺς αἰώνας διετήρησαν μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων, ὅτε καὶ ἀλλοθεν καὶ ἐκ τῶν Σλαυικῶν γλωσσῶν ἐδιδάχθησαν ταῦτα οἱ ἐπιστήμονες.*

2. If attention is paid to the force of the present as contradistinguished from the aorist, in certain clauses otherwise syntactically identical, we shall find strong evidence in favour of the theory now advocated. Take temporal and relative clauses and observe the difference in meaning according as in the same sentence an aorist or present occurs. Thus *ἐπειδὰν λέγω* cum dicam, when(ever) I speak, *am speaking* (shall speak, *shall be speaking*), *ἐπειδὸν εἴπω* cum dixerim, when(ever) I shall have spoken; *ὅταν ὅριζωμεν* when(ever) we are defining, *ὅταν ὅρισμέθω* when(ever) we (shall) have defined; *ἄν δόκῃ* quae *videantur* (videbuntur), *ἄν δόξῃ* quae *visa fuerint*; the Homeric *ἐπὴν πτολεύθον* *ἔλωμεν* cum *urbem ceperimus*. In clauses such as the foregoing the aorist has generally to be rendered by a Latin perfect stem. It is true that, in rendering into English, we often dispense ourselves from using the corresponding somewhat cumbersome equivalent. It also may happen that in our language this difference sometimes scarcely makes itself felt. Thus *ἔντελομεν*, 'if we have no objection,' does not materially differ from *ἔντελήσωμεν* 'if we shall have entertained no objection.' Nevertheless the distinction is present to the Greek mind and would always have to be taken into account by a Latin, if not by an English, translator. Moreover it sometimes occasions idioms of importance to the grammarian. For instance *ἔως ἄν* (*ἴστις ἄν, μέχρι ἄν*) with present subjunctive commonly means 'whilst,' whereas *ἔως ἄν* with aorist invariably means 'until.' The examples where *ἔως ἄν* with present subj. means 'until' are comparatively few, yet they serve to illustrate and confirm

<sup>1</sup> I have not succeeded in procuring a copy of this valuable work and so have been unable to make use of it for the foregoing sketch.

<sup>2</sup> *vide* ΑΘΗΝΑ 1890, *τόμος δεύτερος, τεῦχος τρίτον καὶ τέταρτον*, page 377 sq.

the doctrine here insisted on, viz. that the aorist marks the 'conclusion,' the present the 'evolution' or development of an action. 'Until' marks a *limit* in time, *i.e.* a point *up to which not during which* some act extends. Hence when this limit (*τὸ πέρας*) coincides with another action which is not considered as 'concluded' but is regarded as 'having begun and still developing itself,' *i.e.* as running on towards the end which is not yet reached, the aorist stem ceases to be appropriate and the present becomes necessary, the idea being: 'until something is *doing*,' not 'until it is *done*.' Thus *ιδρυτὶς ἔως ἀν τὴν δίκην ἀρχῶν καλῆ* till he *is calling*. See a valuable note of Shilleto's on Thucyd. i. 90, 3, where he tells us that 'ἔως ἀν, ἔτετραν, μέχρι ἀν with an *aorist* subjunctive could not mean *while*, yet with a *present* may mean *until*, *i.e.* not the *concluded* but the *incipient* act.' I feel quite certain this eminent scholar meant nothing else by 'incipient' than what has here been termed 'action evolving itself, with the end left out of sight.' I have met somewhere in a German grammar a similar use of the word 'eintretend' used, namely, as descriptive of *present* stems. Yet it is not quite *the beginning* but rather the *progress and evolution* of an action that is primarily expressed by *present* stems, although of course such beginning is presupposed and in so far implicitly conveyed.<sup>1</sup>

The question then arises, How comes it to pass that, in clauses similar to those cited above, the aorist fulfils a function for which in Latin the aid of a perfect stem has to be invoked, and where in English recourse must generally be had to the form 'shall have' with past participle? The answer is not far to seek, if it be held that the idea of 'concluded action' inheres in the aorist stem and that present stems depict the action as 'not concluded, still in process of evolution.'

A similar inference may be drawn from the corresponding use of participles. These, be they grammatically present, aorist or perfect, do not *per se* express time, yet, when rendered into English or Latin, involve the use of forms which mark distinct differentiation of time. The sentence *τοιαῦτα λέγον*

*ἔποεντο*, 'such things was he saying as he went along,' differs widely from *τοιαῦτη εἰτὸν ἔποεντο* 'when he had said these things he proceeded on his way.' So too *μαχόμενος ἀπέθανεν* he died fighting, *μαχεσάμενος ἀπέθανεν* he died *after having fought*. The first of these pairs of sentences marks simultaneity of the actions described, the second priority of the action expressed by the aorist participle, and in rendering it into English we can scarcely avoid the use of past tenses (indicative), or at least of past participles. Equivalently the aorist participle comes to express time past relatively to that of the present participle, so much so that for practical purposes the aorist participle may be said loosely to express past time.

How are these facts to be accounted for? An explanation is not readily forthcoming if we look on 'momentary' or 'ingressive' (*eintretend*) action as the function of the aorist. If on the other hand 'evolution' and 'conclusion' be the two aspects of an action conveyed respectively by present and aorist stems, these phenomena become at once intelligible. No sooner has the mind conceived of any act as 'concluded' and then calls up and places, so to speak, side by side some other action, than the idea of priority necessarily arises and hence of time, as does that of simultaneity spring up when the first act is pictured not as 'concluded' but as 'still in progress.' And so it comes about that the aorist participle, which of itself does not denote order in time, but only quality of the action, nevertheless, in the vast majority of instances, does *de facto* express at least relative past time, because forsooth it represents the action at its end.

An argument of like import might be based on what the Germans term 'plusquamperfectische Aorist': *ἔπειδη πάντα ἐπράχθη ἀπέγει* 'when everything *had been* accomplished he went away.' Every one is familiar with this idiom of the Greek aorist being used where Latin and English employs a pluperfect. Here too the hypothesis of 'concluded action' solves a problem otherwise difficult of solution.

3. The following purely philological proof drawn from the two forms in use of the Latin perfect—those in -si and those in -i, -vi, -ui—was supplied me by Mr. de Borkowski. I will give it in his own words, merely stating that the coalescence of two forms genetically different—one obviously aoristic ending in *si* (*parsi*), the other a reduplicated perfect (*pepercit*) with the termination -i, -vi, -ui—to perform indiffer-

<sup>1</sup> In commenting on *τρινὸν* followed by present subjunctive (*e.g.* *οἰώνεθα*) Shilleto writes: 'in all these I understand not *opus perfectum* but *opus inchoatum*.' There, as in a nutshell, and in the words of one of our most remarkable modern scholars, is the thesis we are endeavouring to uphold. I cannot take leave of this subject without thanking my former pupil Mr. Goodier, B.A., now Professor of Humanities at Stonyhurst College, for having called my attention to this excellent note.

ently the syntactical function of action completed, whether in past or present time, points to the original meaning of the *-ai* formations as being that of 'concluded action.' Mr. Borkowski argues as follows:

'Legem nostram considerantibus facile apparebit quomodo perfecta Latina cum "si" formata sine ullo augmento ad hoc devenerit, ut fixam et stabilitam rei praeteritae notionem prae se ferrent. Cum enim constet in Latina lingua dupli via effigi perfectum, et accidente "i" (cum reduplicatione) et accidente "si" cujus formae ipsum "s" ad veterem aoristicum modum pertinet (reliquae formae, sive *vi* additur ad radicem sive *ui*, ex his derivantur), veri simile est, istas formas, quae "si" accidente effinguntur, aliquid aliud antea significasse, atque una cum altera illa forma in unum coalusse perfectum, quod tunc et aoristi et perfecti "functiones" continuerit.

'Itaque quaeritur quomodo aoristus ille vetus v.g. "parsi" ad hoc pervenerit ut praeter "perfecti praesentis" significationem, quam accepisse putandus est, postquam perfecti "puri" et aoristi formae in unam coniunctae sunt, determinatus sit ad praeteritum tempus designandum. Quodsi efficerimus aoristum nostrum significasse "eine abgeschlossene Handlung," facile intellegemus cogitationum affinitate evenisse, ut idem ad rem praeteritam exprimendam descendenter. Quamquam autem etiam vetus Indica lingua aliquo *perf.* *histor.* utitur, ut Latina, hoc tamen non videtur sufficere ad demonstrandum istam functionem veteris perfecti solam etiam apud Latinos effecisse, ut aoristus *-si* accidente formatus, eo tempore quo mistus est cum perfecto, firmam "praeteriti" significationem assumeret.'

4. Hitherto attention has been bestowed chiefly on ancient Greek. It may be useful to cite authorities in order to establish how far these same principles prevailed in the *κοινή* and still hold in modern Greek. Frederick Blass in the Prolegomena to his critical edition of the Acts<sup>1</sup> of the Apostles informs us (§ 8, p. 16) that in the language of the New Testament the tenses retain their ordinary value, save that there is but one future even for the passive; that confusion between the aorist and perfect is seldom to be found, and never in Luke; that all N. T. writers recognize the distinc-

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Apostolorum sive Lucae ad Theophilum liber alter*, editio philologica apparatus critico, commentario perpetuo, indice verborum illustrata, auctore Friderico Blass. Dr. Phil. etc., etc. Göttingen. 1895.

tion between the aorist and the imperfect, which, he goes on to say, was so thoroughly ingrained in the language of the Greeks as to remain to this day. The following extracts from the commentary will enable the reader to form an opinion how far Blass's views tally with the theory we have been propounding.

Comment.: 5<sub>3</sub> ad *ψύσασθαι σε* 'aor. rem perfectam esse denotat'; 9<sub>2</sub> ad *γέγοντα* 'inest in aoristo quod etiam *aceperit*'; 9<sub>43</sub> *μείναι* aor. quis terminus ad quem mansit subintelligitur ab auctore'; 14<sub>3</sub> *διέτριψαν* 'subintelligitur terminus (v. 5), inde aor.'; 20<sub>24</sub> ad *διαμαρτύρασθαι* 'aoristus ad perficendum (*τελεώσαι*) ministerium spectat.' The following will make clear his position as regards the force of present stems: 21<sub>34</sub> *ἀγεούσαι* 'quia res nondum perficitur.' 21<sub>30</sub> *ελκού* 'finis rei (*τὸ έλκνσαι*) ex sequ...intellegendus; interim depingit rem imperfecti.' 3<sub>3</sub> *ηρώα...* 'imperf. ut att. quia actio rogandi per se imperfecta est, donec praebeat rogatum alter.' 21<sub>14</sub> 'Impf. *ἐπέλεομεν* cursum, aor. *κατήδθομεν* finem denotat.' 5<sub>26</sub> *ἡγεν* 'imperf. quia modus quo res gesta est describitur; *perfecta* res indicatur v. 27 *ἀγαγόντες*.' 8<sub>28</sub> 'Praesens *πορεύον* aliis quoque locis adhibetur = perge ire, nisi terminus propinquus adiunctus sit ut 9<sub>11</sub>.' 9<sub>15</sub> *πορεύον* 'praesenti nunc utitur, quia *actio ipsa* spectatur, *finis* autem *ne indicatur quidem*.' 12<sub>7</sub> 'ἀκολούθα praeiens *πρόπτερ* finem non indicatur.' 19<sub>30</sub> *οὐκ εἴων* 'imperf. est usque ad 33, ubi aoristo indicatur quid factum sit.'

Evidently for Blass the functions of the present and aorist are 'not concluded' and 'concluded action' as explained in these pages.

5. Professor G. Hatzidakis<sup>2</sup> of Athens, on being consulted by Mr. de Borkowski regarding his teaching on the points just discussed, replied in a letter of some length from which I am permitted to publish the following extract: καὶ μαθήσῃ ὅτι εὐ εἶτας τὴν νεωτέραν Ἐλληνίδα τῷ μὲν ἐνεστότι καὶ παρατακῷ φάνεται τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀτελῆ καὶ ἐξ εἰσισμένην, τῷ δὲ ἀριστών καὶ μέλλοντι<sup>3</sup> πανσαμένην καὶ πέρας

<sup>2</sup> Γεώργιος Ν. Χατζίδακις καθηγητής τῆς Γλωσσολογίας ἐν τῷ Ἐθνικῷ Πανεπιστημῷ ἐν Αθήναις.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Hatzidakis, in his classification of tenses, invariably couples future and aorist. In that, I believe, he is following in the wake of the Alexandrine Grammarians and the reason, no doubt, is the identity of stem in these formations, cf. *βαλω*, *βιλων* : *λέσω*, *λύσω*. I am puzzled to know whether the quality of action attributed to these futura forms by the Athenian Professor is identical with that of the aorist. Does *ἐρῶ*, for instance, only mean 'I shall say,' or may it not be equivalent to 'I shall be saying'? Modern Greek has two distinct forms like our own: θέλ γράψω and θέλ γράψω.

σχοῦσαν καθ' ἄπερ καὶ αἱ Σλανικαὶ γλῶσσαι ἄριστα ταῦτα διαστέλλουσιν. This valuable testimony touching modern Greek usage needs no comment.

To mitigate however the apparent dogmatism necessarily attendant on the exponent and upholder of a particular theory—even when that theory is only put forward as highly probable—I cannot do better than conclude this too lengthy dissertation by quoting a passage from the *Altindische Syntax* of Delbrück where that scholar expresses his sense of hopelessness of discovering a satisfactory formula descriptive of the aorist stem function:<sup>1</sup>

'Aorist. If one seeks a comprehensive formula, there can be no other forthcoming, even for Sanscrit, than that which scholars have endeavoured to extract from Greek. A fully satisfactory and short term seems to me not yet to have been found. So much is clear, that the aor. indicative stands in

<sup>1</sup> R. Delbrück, *Syntaktische Forschungen*, V. *Altindische Syntax* (Halle 1888), page 280 § 164.

opposition to the imperfect in so far as it never paints but only communicates the fact that an event has taken place. The quality of the action of the aor. has been described as momentary or instantaneous.<sup>2</sup> Better may it be said that in aoristic utterance the point of view of duration is not taken into account. Emphasis is only given to the fact that an action has in general taken place (...in die Erscheinung getreten sei). Under these circumstances it cannot be matter of surprise if by the aorist events are communicated which have *de facto* had very different extension in time.'

J. DONOVAN.

*Stonyhurst College, Sept. 1, 1895.*

<sup>2</sup> Some friends tell me they have always understood the word 'momentary' to mean 'completed and over,' and to denote a something 'past and done with' rather than an action of short duration. Their interpretation seems to me to do more credit to their Greek instinct than to their use of words. Some such explanation must naturally force itself on the teacher who attempts to expound the aorist *κατ* *ἔγειρν* of absolute past events.

#### THE CORRECTIONS IN THE FLORENCE MS. OF NONIUS.

124, 10	icerit C.	127, 9	Noli C.
12	animam C.	10	quisq. A.
	coniunctam C.	17	epinausimacho D.
	quae A.	19	habuissim A.
14	demetrio na D.		ingenio amatores A.
17	inequius D.	128, 8	indolentiam D.
18	quondam C.	10	ut C.
32	liber....quasi A.	19	inpetu C.
34	aut C.	25	ducit C.
35	Naeuius C.	26	Inpendio C.
41	Meleagro C.	129, 4	<i>Incrustatum ornatum</i> } A. marg.
125, 1	Quis erit A.		crustis cooperum }
	incilans C.	13	dolebam C. }
2	differret D.		delebram D. }
8	uicissim C.	21	uisendi C.
9	nubunt C.	27	amictiam atque C.
15	myoparone C.		promptam A.
16	Tegulas C.	33	apirian C.
19	patientiae C.	130, 2	tumulto C.
20	possit C.	5	Cum C.
24	Virgilius C.	6	intonso C.
27	Virgilius C.	9	q[uaere] A. marg.
28	illuiae D.	10	Tudesertibus D.
126, 2	inuallnitiae A.		senatis A.D.
9	ieientare ientare A. marg.		consulto C.
28	Infel. felicem faciant A. marg.		iussu C.
31	iniquat iniquus fit A. marg.	13	inhsim simul A. marg.
33	indignant D.	131, 4	inproborata A.
127, 5	cesso A.		8 Hecaltonbe D.

131, 11 *Idem idem* D.  
 19 *φιλοσοφίας* C.  
 26 *luculentu-lus* C. Conj.  
 32 *fiet et* D.  
 132, 4 *habundat* D.  
 9 *Letitudine* C.  
 11 *leſitudinem* C.  
 13 *leſitudine* C.  
 30 *spetiae* C.D.  
 31 *Pelopidis* C.  
 133, 16 *hominibus* D.E.  
 134, 2 *Tusculanarum* A.  
 5 *Tusculanorum* A.  
 14 *ludricrae* D.  
 15 *licitantur* A.  
 35 *memorare* A.  
 38 *celebrassit* A.  
 135, 18 *M* litteram C.  
 20 *έγκωμίον*; Dist.  
 23 *m. tullius cicero* D.  
 q[uaere] A. marg.  
 27 *enim* C?  
 30 *se* C.  
 136, 6 *uirginemne an* A.  
*uiduam uxorem* A.  
 14 *Astyanae* C.  
 17 *humili* A.  
 29 *macilentum* E.C.  
 31 *homo est nasutus* A.  
 137, 2 *errore* A.  
 3 *ἀρχαιρεσιῶν* Transposuit.  
 4 *attius* C.  
 6 *oreste* A. marg.  
 13 *meritis* C.  
 20 *statuant* A.  
 27 *Mestas* A.  
 28 *Concitatum mobilitata* A.  
 31 *haec est meri* D.  
 138, 2 *inflammari* A.  
*Atridae* C.  
 3 *madore infusione* A. marg.  
 6 *cluacis* E.C.  
 7 *Mercatis* A.  
 17 *id quod spero* A.  
 25 *mendicarier* C.  
 139, 14 *uiuam* C.  
 18 *Paraterus* Transp. ad finem prioris  
*versus*.  
 140, 2 *hortum* D.  
 11 *certe alii* D.  
 16 *proferre* C.  
*et mansum* A.  
 20 *adulescentem* A.  
 24 *Ursum se* A.  
 33 *Id bellum* C.  
 36 *uerba* C.  
 141, 3 *M-ediox.* Conj.  
*medie* C.

141, 5 *adiz mortalem* C. marg. (duobus  
 punct. supr. z).  
 7 *Varro* A.  
 25 *confossa* C.  
 142, 4 *Galli* A.  
 18 *ponitificis* E.A.  
*sacerorum* D.C.  
 25 *filogenea* A.  
 143, 3 *et te* A.  
 4 *curatores* C.  
 13 *non-uitium* D. Conj.  
 14 *nullius* C.  
 30 *Virgilius* C.  
 31 *haud* C.  
 144, 1 *si* A.  
 3 *ueneris* A.  
*natalis* A.  
*Fortis* A.  
 12 *Nitidant abluunt* A marg.  
 17 *circeo* D.  
 18 *quapripedantur* A.  
*sonipedum* A.  
 20 *Nixurit* C.  
 27 *immittunt*; C. Dist.  
 29 *boias* A.  
 145, 18 *anaticulas* C.  
 24 *Nenia* C.  
 26 *exliberetur* A.  
 28 *tibiis* C.  
 146, 3 *fallaciae* C?  
 14 *Plocio* A.C.  
 20 *theoro* D.  
*illius* A.  
 22 *illum* C.  
 26 *ultroque* C.  
 31 *Agamemnon-idis* Conj.  
 33 *extinctas*  $\wedge$  iam A. Dist. *atque* A.  
 147, 5 *hypoulyri* C.  
 8 *Obstringillare* D.  
 11 *obstringillant* D.  
*ignoscit* A.  
 18 *Obuarrare* D.  
 20 *obuarrant* D.  
 26 *Ossiculatim* D?  
 148, 1 *periton* A.  
 5 *pependerint* C.  
 6 q[uaere] A. marg.  
 8 *si* C.  
*inteari traxero* D. }  
*inter traxero* C. }  
 14 *motur* D.  
 17 *Occule* C.  
 149, 10 *Places* E?  
 15 *auri* C.  
 16 *a mole* D.  
 19 *substeminis* D.  
 22 *papulam* C.  
 27 *Penniculamentum* D.  
 28 *Annalis* A.

150, 38 *tonstrix* E?      157, 25 *medici* C.  
     *impulstrix* E?      *discessum* A.  
     39 *assestris* A. marg.      28 *capulum* C.  
 151, 1 *Omassum* D.      158, 25 *addere* A.  
     3 *gliris* C.      35 *Aegistho*; Dist.  
     15 *colam* C.      37 *lib.* III. C.  
     16 *q[uare] A. marg.*      41 *squamigerae* A.  
     19 *porticulus* A.      159, 27 *Protollere* A.  
     30 *perpezzabile* } A. marg.      *differre*; Dist.  
     *perplexum* } A. marg.      160, 11 *dolorum reste* C.  
     34 *eminulis* A.      13 *Perfica* Cap.  
 152, 1 *quiñ* D.      25 *perfectum solum-tum* D. Conj.  
     5 *pipulo* C.      161, 5 *conmoti hauito* D.C.  
     8 *quia* D.      *ac* C?  
 13 *Nec* A.      8 *ut ait* C.  
 15 *far* C.      9 *Pertidere* C.  
 17 *Porcas* N.L.      *uel decidere* C.  
 23 *sentinas* C.      10 *pertisum* C.  
 27 *paries* C.      21 *Tusculanorum* A.  
     *putidus* C.      162, 4 *se permetterent* A.C.  
     31 *id est exhibendo* A.      5 *Sisenna* A.  
 153, 5 *Eumenidibus* A.      14 *Varro* A.  
     6 *dicitur* C.      16 *ebore* C.  
     10 *ueteribus* C.      18 *Populi Romani* A.  
     11 *praeiscini* A.      19 *occultaque* D.  
     *dictum est* A.      21 *Educandis* A.  
     14 *permittis pernicies* A. marg.      22 *Etenim* A.  
     *exitium* C.      27 *purpura-scit*, Conj. Dist.  
     17 *qui in C. negeste* C.      163, 1 *non egremus* A.  
     35 *profere* C.      4 *ipsi* C.  
 154, 9 *pape palestricos* C.      23 *obuiam* A.  
     17 *praesentem* D.      26 *Pondo Ducentum* A.  
     19 *Minta* C.      *saepe* D.  
     24 *panzibus* A.      28 *ducentum* C.  
     26 *propola* C.      164, 17 *raui-m* Conj.  
     27 *protuli item* A. }      23 *odiosam* C.  
     *item protuli* D. }      26 *sed dominari* A. marg.  
     31 *lib.* II. A.      165, 10 *Reciproca* N.L.  
 155, 4 *Caecilius* A. marg.      12 *rurus* C.  
     *locio* A. marg.      24 *lib.* II. A.  
     5 *Properatin* A. marg.      26 *aliter assit* C.  
     *istunc* A. D.      30 *incredibili*ter A.  
     14 *praefracte* C.      32 *repuerascam* C.  
     15 *His* A.      166, 2 *dolasti* C.  
     16 *Aris-to* Conj.      6 *sputo* A.  
     18 *pulcritudo* C.      11 *orchestra* A.  
     30 *pollendo* A.      167, 1 *Rumiferare* A.  
     33 *pollere* A.      9 *rutuba* C.  
     34 *Propitiabilis* C.      16 *albigascit* D.  
     *propitiando* C.      *recentatur* A.  
     37 *pau* *Pauillisper* D.      18 *pro* A.  
 156, 6 *Imbecilla* C.      20 *rapinator* C.  
     14 *sinit aetatula* A.      28 *cunas rumine* A.  
     16 *Sic* C.      168, 3 *graues*. Dist. ?  
     21 *lactis* C.      9 *uellicatim* C.  
     24 *balat*, Dist.      11 *istilo* A.  
 157, 1 *honestos* C.      15 *scabre sordide putide* A. marg.  
     7 *Acaristione* C.      16 *illuua* C.  
     13 *aequum* C.      19 *Censores* C.  
     22 *caecilius* D.      21 *strigosum* C.

168, 24 *sed si* A.  
 169, 2 *achille* D.  
 24 *Astyana* C.  
 26 *Andromeda* C.  
 27 *Scrapo* C.  
 34 *liquiquidum* D.  
 37 *Scurriles* D ?  
 170, 17 *Medo* C.  
 18 *Populoque* A.  
 22 *Prolautus* D.  
 23 *illum* A ?; *simulter* A.  
*itidem* A.  
 171, 10 *abibis* A.  
 16 *satullem* A.  
 19, 20 *necessariam* A.  
 22 *capud* D.C.  
 26 *φύσεως*; Dist.  
 172, 5 *Actius* A.  
 6 *crudeficiat* D.  
*satietas* C.  
 12 *termeastrinorum* A. marg.  
 14 *satiasti* C.  
 23 *illi* A.  
 29 *Bacchidibus* A.  
 173, 1 *Bacchidibus* A.  
 4 *Turpidius* C.  
 10 *ut mihi hi* A.  
 21 *sodalis* C.  
 22 *uerisace* D.  
 25 *mali* C.  
 174, 3 *dulubra* C.  
 6 *scopuli* C.  
 14 *argumenta-re* Conj.  
 ^ *dicunt* Dist. C.  
 23 *Aeneidis* A.  
 31 *scelerati* C.  
 32 *aetaem* A.  
 38 *adducere* A.  
 175, 2 *expuere* D.  
 6 *fluctifrago* C.  
 7 *Uuescun-t* C. Conj. Dist.  
 8 *Virgilius* C.  
 20 *Mercatore* A.  
 21 *Ita* A.  
 27 *succendens* D.  
 29 *et quo* C.  
 31 *Superbiloquentia* Cap.  
*Tusculanorum* A.  
 32 *animique* C.  
 33 *Sarcinatorem sutorem* D.  
*lib. XXVIII. C.*  
 176, 1 *Sarcinatorem* A.  
*centonem* C.  
 7 *a singulais* A.  
 15 *adeo* C.  
 26 *M. Crassus* C. (linea supraser.)  
 177, 2 *Salebras* C.  
*a saltu dictae* D.  
 3 *deuidere* C.  
 8 *fluit* A.  
 177, 9 *friuolum* C.  
 18 *aut ab spartu quasi spartas aut ab asportando* D.  
 21 *enim* A.  
 178, 7 *Tetinerit* A.  
 22 *Euripidis* A.  
 24 *minutim* D.  
 25 *caluam* A.  
*communissem* A.  
 31 *Parmenione* D.  
 179, 7 *terti* A. Dist.  
*mangonis* A.  
 24 *Melesia* A.  
 26 *Tabificum* C.A.  
 180, 3 *qui te* A.  
 21 *cum machinato* A.  
 23 *Tironem* A.  
 24 *in re* A.  
 27 *Ad oblectandos* C.  
*examinantur* A. Dist.; *trutinare* D.  
 181, 17 *Actius* A.  
*Alcmene* A.  
 26 *duraque* A.  
 32 *atque* A.  
*cauda* C.  
 182, 12 *timorum-eno* Conj.  
 16 *Logomacheia* D.  
 26 *Virgilius* C.  
 183, 1 *uegetaf* A.  
 9 *gubernans* A.  
 24 *uerba* A.  
*obnuntiem* C.  
 30 *uehementi* C.  
 32 *Sychaeum* A.  
 36 *fallens* C.  
 184, 1 *Actius* C.  
 20 *lib. II* A.  
 25 *Vastities* C.  
 27 *uastities* C.  
 29 *uastitudine* C.  
 185, 5 *deserantur* C.  
 11 *patiuntur* C.  
 22 *uenerans* A.  
 24 *Pacuuius* C.  
 186, 3 *eruas* C.  
 7 *Explodam* C.  
*uilicetur* A.  
 16 *blanditer* C.  
 19 *Duos* A.  
 23 *Historiarum* C.A.  
 27 *ualentiam* C.  
 187, 3 *frondens* D.  
 6 *Asinariaria* D.  
 7 *uoluptare* D.  
 18 *uiracius* C.  
*q[uaere]* A. marg.  
 24 *Verruzcam* D.  
 25 *quadriringentos* C.  
 26 *uerruncam* D.  
 29 *insignitas* A.

187, 32 aestate A.  
 188, 5 proilio C.  
 15 *per uicos* D.  
 16 menses A.  
 18 *tristem* D.  
 21 tesserae C.  
 22 emble-mate Conj.  
 24 cornelia *ana* D.  
 189, 14 Tuseulanorum A.  
 22 *eundulatis* A.  
 26 Zonatim N.L.  
 190, 7 purgitanis C.D.  
 10 *peruium* C.  
 12 quoddam A.  
 24 *Absinthium* A.  
 25 *Absinthia* A.  
 28 *absinthium* A.  
 33 *studere* C.  
 191, 5 *his...se* A.  
 7 *Virgilius* C.  
 34 *amnem* C.  
 35 *Feminino* A.  
 192, 4 *hostico* C.  
 7 *hac* A.  
 29 *sedere* A marg. cum *q[uaere]*.  
 193, 12 probasti A.  
 21 annitetrach. A.  
 25 *inquaes* D.  
 saluum D.  
 194, 7 *Roscius* A.  
 10 *infoebis* C.  
 24 *Feminini* A.  
 28 *blanditiam* A.  
 195, 2 *depraessa* D.  
 4 *Asparagi* C.  
 et C.  
 6 *formosamque* C.  
 10 *Masculini* A.  
 14 *Culter et* A.  
 16 *Bithina* A.  
 27 *adcuratiusque* A.  
 28 *po-litos* E. Conj.  
 196, 3 *Quaerelae* Cap. D.  
 13 *scripsisse* C.  
 17 *Quaenam* C.  
 27 *in marte* A.  
 35 *caementa* A. }  
 cameenta D. }  
 197, 6 *hi* A. *sunt* Dist. C.  
 14 *his* A.  
 29 *Quis* Cap.  
 198, 14 *fulua* A. *cinis* E ?  
 15 *lib.* II A.  
 16 *Quid* C.  
*colluabellana* D. }  
 colu et lana C. }  
 26 *Asinaria* C.  
 30 *exercita* A.  
 31 *Fere...eo* A.  
 32 *Ratione* A.

198, 32 *re* (lin. supraser.) D.  
 37 *quale* C.  
 199, 2 *pestilentia* C.  
 4 *morbi* A. Dist.  
 22 *dispergiuit* C.  
 27 *libiso* D. }  
 libro C. }  
 28 *tum ut si* C.  
 30 *Titono* C.  
 31 *relinquit* A.  
 33 *Virgil.* C.  
 200, 3 *quies* A.  
 A. *iret* Dist.  
 caloremque C.  
 10 *q[uaere]* A. marg.  
 11 *breue est* C.  
 14 *docet* D.  
 16 *epigono* C.  
 21 *uicessimo* D.  
 23 *Harpazomene* C.  
 24 *praecidi* C.  
 26 *restim* C.  
 30 *collus* C.  
 32 *Malae* A.  
*barbara* D.  
*collus* A. Dist.  
 33 *Varro Sexagesi* A.  
 34 *ut nitens pauonis collus* A.  
 201, 8 *sit* A.  
 14 *uite-t* Conj.  
*acria* C.  
*ut est* ut est D.  
 18 *altus* A.  
 22 *Marsus* C. marg.  
 33 *contemptio* C.A.  
 202, 1 *patientia* C.  
*contemptio* C.A.  
 7 *pastusque* C.  
 17 *procumbunt* C.  
 21 *Neutri* C.  
 26 *tibi* A. Dist. ?  
 34 *puppis* C.  
 203, 6 *genere* masculino C.  
 nam D.  
*feminino* A.  
 11 *animi* A.  
 12 *Tusculanorum* A.  
 13 *contemptione* C.A.  
 20 *Feminini* A.  
 22 *lib.* A.  
 26 *reuoocatur* C. marg.  
 29 *Horrendamque* A. }  
 Horrendamque C. }  
 34 *quaecumquae* D.  
 204, 6 *adhortatus* A.  
*conquirerem* A.  
 12 *errantiae* D.  
 14 *hiritium* D.  
 22 *generis* A.  
 205, 2 *neque ut* A.

205, 10 *Et* C.  
 19 *Historiarum* A.  
 35 *seranacae-caeli* Conj. D.  
     *nomina* C.  
 206, 21 *Petitore* C.  
 31 *aeneis* D.  
 35 *foco* C.  
 207, 1 *et aut ut* D.  
     *regnum* D.  
 6 *infra* C.  
     *Vesuuium* A.  
 7 *pertinebat* C.  
 31 *uerticulis* C.  
 33 *neutri generis* C.  
     *Mattico* A.  
 36 *uento* C.  
 208, 4 *libyi* D.  
 5 *uidentur*  $\wedge$  *ire* Dist.  
 21 *Satyrarum* A.  
 32 *iacent* C.  
 209, 2 *praetensus* A.  
 8 *atros* C ?  
     *intribos* D ?  
 16 *insaniam* A.  
     *affect* C.  
 19 *Marcopoli* A.  
 20 *portae* C.  
     *clauaca* C.  
 21 *generis* A.  
 22 *in...* C.  
     *perfecto* C.  
     *hanc uideo* D.  
 26 *desserendus* C.D.  
 27 *protoesilaodam* A.  
 28 *ineunt* C.  
     *cachinnos* A.  
 29 *dictarii* *sitantis* D.  
 210, 4 *Pelusiace* A.  
 7 *romice* A.  
 11 *disripiamus* D.  
 13 *lucanam* A.  
     *luci* *claro* A.  
 14 *Hodie* A.  
 18 *luci* C.  
     *queo* A.  
 19 *neutri est* A.  
 20 *masculini* A.  
 23 *Labium* C. *marg.*  
 24 *reuellit* A.  
 26 *Age* C.  
     *bibis-ti* C. Conj.  
     *refer* C.  
     *labeas tibeas* C.  
 211, 3 *lib. II.* A.  
 7 *locos ut* C.  
 212, 7 *lauatrina* D.  
 20 *Georgicon* C.  
 32 *habuit* C.  
 34 *spero*  $\wedge$  *rem* A.C. Dist.  
 213, 2 *nobis* C.

213, 5 *profectus* C.  
 13 *crepitantes* D.  
 19 *qui* C.  
 20 *loquuntur* C.  
 21 *Masculini* A.  
 23 *seminisse* D.  
 214, 8 *masculino* C.  
     *Feminino* A.  
 11 *Ni* *metus* A.  
     *tennet*  $\wedge$  D. Dist.  
     *rite* C.  
 13 *tacciti* D. C.  
 14 *deponaremur* A.  
      $\wedge$  *uerus* Dist. C.  
 15 *generis est* A.  
     *muliebris* A.  
 20 *miseriemunium* D.  
 22 *Nundinae* Cap.  
     *neutri* A.  
 23 *maius* C.  
     *nigri qui* C.A.  
     *expectant* A.  
 30 *Humanarum* A.  
 215, 6 *suraeme* C.  
 12 *sicuti* A.  
 16 *neruinas* C.  
 18 *tractare* C.  
     *nouales* C.  
 26 *amicos*  $\wedge$  Dist.  
 31 *esse* A ?  
 34 *obsequantiae*  $\wedge$  Dist.  
 35 *Fimbriana* C.  
 216, 1 *graues* A.  
 5 *peloris* A.  
 6 *Demetrio* A.  
 9 *salo* C.  
     *multinummus* C.  
 16 *uidebant-ostream* Conj.  
 21 *nummum* C.  
 39 *Ad* *puteos* C.A.  
 217, 1 *uel* A.  
 2 *maria* A.  
 5 *elegantis* A.  
 6 *cocis* C.  
     *piscatu* C.  
 13 *lib. IIII.* A.  
 14 *peperit* D.  
 24 *lib. II.* A.  
     *retrimenta* A.  
 26 *est* A.  
 28 *feminino* A.  
 218, 33 *cretam* C.  
 219, 18 *pigritia* C.  
 26 *stirpibus* C.  
 34 *praebarem* C.  
 220, 23 *inquit* C.  
 25 *porricere* C.  
 30 *subfurabatur* C.  
 221, 1 *Pistillus* C.  
     *Nouius* C.

221, 5 *patinas* C.  
 7 *Munatius* C.  
 10 *saluete* C.  
 12 *utaeque* A.  
 21 *rideat* C.  
 23 *nudantia* C.  
 33 *Excessosque* C.A.  
 37 *Siciliensi* C.  
 38 *plenum* C.  
 222, 3 *Ramenta* C.  
 5 *propensior* C.  
 15 *Feminini* A.  
 17 *Rerum* A.  
     *Tarquinius* D.  
 18 *gentilitatem* (gen/til *ex gentil*) C.  
 21 *Specus* D.  
 24 *uirile et C.*  
     *specus* E.  
 25 *Tum in muro* C.  
 26 *specus* E.  
     *copuli* C.  
 28 *admissam* C.A.  
     *capriam* D.  
 223, 1 *patebat* C.  
 3 *scruposam* C.A.  
 4 *feminineutri* D?  
 10 *ullos* C.  
 17 *commenontario* D.  
 18 *facidem* A.  
 19 *posttea* D.  
 28 *sibilum* D.  
 33 *Masculini* A.  
 37 *sagus* C.  
 224, 11 *ehu* C. (repet. in marg.).  
 16 *sanguine* *sanguen* A.  
 20 *φθοπας* A.  
 35 *Prometensibus* A.  
 225, 12 *Rerum* C.  
     *scrobiculum* D.  
 19 *genere appellatur* *Transposuit* A.  
 21 *ah* A.  
 27 *sic e tritico* Dist. E. *spicam* D.  
 226, 3 *Telepho* C.  
 6 *squales* A.  
 9 *suasiones* A.  
 24 *inquit* C.  
 227, 7 *incrementa* C.A.  
     *conmemorem* C.  
 11 *saporum* C.  
 15 *screpitus* C.  
 16 *uetueterum* D.  
 228, 14 *acceperit* A.  
 23 *ingenua* C.  
 25 *erastinate* A.  
 27 *Ut* A.  
 29 *lanea* C.  
     *infectori* C.  
 32 *tribulaeque* A.  
 34 *apud* A.  
 229, 4 *obpreposit* A.

229, 5 *Caecilius* A.  
 16 *tu pleni* C.  
     *cum in* A.  
     *operis toro* A. Dist.  
 22 *Varro* Dist. (punct. supra o).  
 32 *Plaupus* D.  
 34 *Philopatru* C.  
 230, 4 *generis* A.  
 6 *Georgicon* C.  
 21 *concitat* C.  
 22 *Aeneidos* A.  
 27 *discicit* A.  
 29 *bellum* C.  
 31 *combureret* C.  
 32 *sic centum* D.  
 33 *Λυρας* C.  
     *mulsi* C.  
 231, 5 *solis* C.  
 12 *claudunt* A.  
 15 *hypocorisma* A.  
 16 *Decedo cacatum* A.  
 22 *mox Fufidius* C.  
 24 *suadum* D.  
     *oportuniora* C.  
 26 *Masculini* C.  
 30 *aethera* A.  
 32 *Heautontimorumenos* A.  
     *libro VII.* D.  
 33 *uesperi* A.  
 232, 2 *experrecti* C.  
 4 *potius* C.  
     *uigilius* C.  
     *adminicularem* C.  
     *quid* D.  
     *uidet* C.  
     *alium* C.  
 11 *PER LITTERAS* A.

[The following corrections should be made in the portion of the article which appeared in the November number.]

9, 17 *coagmentata* C. 15, 15 *pater*. The correction may be by F<sup>2</sup>. 20, 5 *l*  $\wedge$  *das* E. *Conj.* C. 27, 13 *EKZOTHCOΔΟΥ* A.  
 28, 17 *fulgoris* C. 29, 25 *medium est sic* A.E<sup>2</sup>D. 50, 17 after *quaeritas* add *has apertissimas potuimus innenire*. 56, 13 *amfinionis* D. 67, 9 *soltamattibias* C. 74, 9 *illo* is added by F<sup>2</sup>. 18 *pinnis* is corrected by F<sup>2</sup>. 76, 18 *puerit* D. 81, 32 (not 29) *comestque* is corrected by F<sup>2</sup>. 84, 8 *pallium obseruabam* A. 86, 14 *h* *umili*. The *h* is added by F<sup>2</sup>. 87, 33 *oicerem* D. 91, 13 *meus* D. 92, 19 *calfacimur* C. 94, 26 *compito* is corrected by F<sup>2</sup>. 98, 29 *uelitatis* C. 99, 24 *satus* C. 100, 11 *dimissum* is corrected by F<sup>2</sup>. 102, 4 *eualuero* is corrected by F<sup>2</sup>. 103, 10 *pro*  $\wedge$  *errans* is corrected by F<sup>2</sup>. 108, 15

This q[uaere] probably refers to 107, 26. 110, 14, 22; 114, 9. Omit these notes. 118, 25, *insulae* ueneris D. 120, 13 *marini*. The addition is by F<sup>2</sup>.

The following instances of erasure should be omitted since there is nothing to connect them definitely with F<sup>3</sup>: 3, 28; 13, 3; 17, 30; 19, 23; 21, 1; 21, 5; 26, 12; 26,

24; 27, 15; 28, 31; 29, 4; 29, 12; 32, 10; 34, 10; 34, 22; 34, 23; 35, 31; 37, 17; 38, 10; 41, 22; 42, 2; 43, 20; 44, 7; 44, 31; 45, 20; 47, 9; 50, 7; 50, 8; 55, 19; 56, 12; 58, 1; 108, 27.

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#### SUSEMIDL AND HICKS' EDITION OF THE *POLITICS*.

*The Politics of Aristotle*, a Revised Text, with Introduction, Analysis, and Commentary, by F. SUSEMIDL and R. D. HICKS: Books I.-V. (Macmillan & Co. 1894.) 18s. net.

In this volume we have Books I.-V. of Prof. Susemihl's well-known *Aristoteles Politik Griechisch und Deutsch und mit facherklärenden Anmerkungen* (1879) reproduced in an English dress by Mr. Hicks. Extensive additions and corrections have been made by both editors in the Introduction and Commentary, and by Prof. Susemihl in the Critical Notes; but an English Translation of the Greek text has been dispensed with.

There is much to be said for the plan of naturalizing, as it were, a good foreign edition in England—of rewriting it in English, as distinguished from merely translating it. I confess that I was at first a little disappointed on finding that it is only to a very limited extent that Mr. Hicks has rewritten Prof. Susemihl for English readers. But second thoughts soon satisfied me that he could not well have done more. Prof. Susemihl, as all students of Aristotle will acknowledge with gratitude, is so rich in various detail, and especially in exact and minute reference to, and criticism of, the opinions of other workers in his department, that it would have been impossible for Mr. Hicks to do justice to the peculiar characteristics of the original except by fairly close translation. Further, Prof. Susemihl's Aristotelian work is always so much in process of building, as it were, that it would have been premature to attempt to make it more acceptable to English readers by clearing away the scaffolding—by omitting, at the present stage, detail which would certainly confuse one's view of more finished results. Indeed, one of the chief objects of the collaboration of Prof. Susemihl and Mr. Hicks on this edition is to add to the

detail, and for this we are, in the present state of the study of the *Politics*, only bound to be grateful.

This English edition, then, is still essentially a workman's edition like its German original, which it corrects and elaborates in countless details—it is still a characteristic product of 'the German workshop,' a book of reference brought up to date, which no serious student of Aristotle can do without, but not very 'readable':—I say 'not very readable,' it will be easily understood, without implying the least disparagement. English students, at least, of Aristotle's Political Philosophy will continue to read Mr. Newman's 'superb Introduction' as Mr. Hicks justly and well characterizes it, and Jowett's Introduction and Analysis, in order to obtain an entire and clear view of the subject. Professor Susemihl's Introduction, which is short and has less than the usual amount of detail, will be found useful by the side of these larger aids. It ought to be noted that Prof. Susemihl's Introduction, even in its English form, is prior to Mr. Newman's two volumes. Pages 1-460 of the present volume had been printed off before the appearance of Mr. Newman's volumes, as Mr. Hicks explains in apologizing for the long delay between the announcement and publication of the work. Certain points, however, in Mr. Newman's volumes are noticed in Addenda (pp. 659 ff.), and in the important Note on the basis of the text (pp. 460-468), in which Prof. Susemihl reaffirms his old position, *haud raro II<sup>2</sup>, saepius II<sup>1</sup> meliorem*, against Mr. Newman, who believes (vol. i. pref. viii.) that 'any future recension of the text of the *Politics* should be based primarily on MSS. of the second family (II<sup>2</sup>).'

The general conclusions which we are bound, I think, to come to with regard to this new edition are—that, so far as critical apparatus is concerned, it is simply indis-

pensable: that, as for the Commentary taken as a whole, Mr. Hicks is justified in his hope that it 'will be found [with the *Addenda*] more adequate than any of its predecessors to our existing materials and means of information'—'taken as a whole,' for Mr. Newman's Commentary, though equally adequate (except that, of course, it has no references to the *Aθ. Πολ.*: cf. especially references in the *Addenda* of this edition, pp. 678–681), so far as it goes, and more finished in form, is at present confined to two Books: lastly, that Prof. Susemihl's Introduction, though scarcely challenging comparison with the Introduction of Mr. Newman, will be found useful by the side of it. I should like to add that the new section of the Introduction—on 'The most recent criticism of the Text'—for which Mr. Hicks is largely responsible, seems to me to treat a subject (I refer especially to 'Dislocations and Double Recensions'), which is admittedly full of *διαφορὰ καὶ πλάνη*, with great judgment.

I may be allowed now to refer to some points of detail which I have noted in reading this new edition.

P. 151 (cf. p. 667), A. 2, 1253 a 33. *χαλεπωτάτη γάρ ἀδικία ἔχοντα ὅπλα ὁ δὲ ἀνθρώπος ὅπλα ἔχων φρονήσει καὶ ἀρετὴν, οἷς ἐπὶ τάνατος ἔστι χρῆσθαι μάλιστα. διὸ ἀνοσώτατον καὶ ἀγρώτατον ἀνέν ἀρετῆς.* Here Prof. Susemihl reads *φρονήσει καὶ ἀρετὴν* in the text, although he suggests that *ἀρετὴν* may be due to 36 *ἀρετῆς* having displaced a word like *καρπερίᾳ*. His translation (German edition, p. 87) is 'der Mensch hat die natürlichen Waffen in Händen durch seine angeborene Klugheit und Willenstärke'; and in the *Addenda* to the present edition (p. 667) it is explained that 'Prudence and [virtue] are the qualities at whose disposal the weapons are placed.' It seems to me that, with Conring and Madvig, we ought simply to bracket *φρονήσει καὶ ἀρετὴν*. I take these words to be an ignorant and stupid gloss set on the margin against *οἷς*, the construction of the interpolated datives being, like that of *οἷς* which they gloss, with *χρῆσθαι*.

P. 172, A. 8, 1256 a 11. *ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐχ ἡ αὐτὴ τὴν οἰκονομικὴν ἡ χρηματιστικὴ, δῆλον πότερον δὲ μέρος αὐτῆς ἔστι τι ἡ ἔτερον εἴδος ἔχει διαμφισθήτησιν, εἰ γάρ ἔστι τοῦ χρηματιστικοῦ θεωρῆσαι πόθεν χρήματα καὶ κτῆσις ἔσται. ἡ δὲ κτῆσις πολλὰ περιείληφε μέρη καὶ ὁ πλούτος, ὥστε πρώτων ἡ γεωργικὴ πότερον μέρος τι τῆς οἰκονομικῆς ἡ ἔτερόν τι γένος, καὶ καθόλον ἡ περὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἐπιμέλεια [καὶ κτῆσις].* Here Prof. Susemihl, following Vahlen, takes *εἰ γάρ* as = *εἴπερ* = 'if namely,' and

puts a full stop after *ἔσται*. Mr. Newman, with a full stop [or colon] after *διαμφισθήτησιν*, and a comma after *ἔσται*, makes the apodosis begin with *ώστε*—the preferable construction, I think; unless, indeed we make *ἡ δὲ κτῆσις . . .* the apodosis (see Eucken, *de partic. usu*, p. 26): 'it is an arguable point whether *χρηματιστική* is a part of *οἰκονομική*, or something quite different; for while, on the one hand, it is true that the *χρηματιστικός* is concerned specially with the *κτῆσις χρημάτων*, which seems to lie outside the sphere of *οἰκονομική*, on the other hand (*δέ*), *κτῆσις* has many other parts, with which too the *χρηματιστικός* may be said to be concerned—e.g. *γεωργική*: accordingly, the first question we have to ask is whether *e.g. γεωργική* is a part of *οἰκονομική*, or something quite different.' I cannot agree with Prof. Susemihl and Mr. Hicks that *πότερον* after *γεωργική*, line 17, 'is dependent, like *πόθεν*, line 15, upon *ἔστι* τοῦ *χρηματιστικοῦ θεωρῆσαι*'.

P. 241, B. 5, 1264 a 18. *τί διοίσοντιν οὕτοι ἔκεινων τῶν φιλάκων; ἡ τί πλεῖον τοῖς ὑπομένοντι τὴν ἀρχήν αὐτῶν; ἡ τί παθόντες ὑπομενοῦσι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐὰν μὴ τι σοφίζωται κ.τ.λ.* Bernays (see his German translation of the first three Books of the *Politics*), following Aretinus, omits *ἡ τί πλεῖον τοῖς ὑπομένοντι τὴν ἀρχήν*, and transposes *αὐτῶν* to follow *ἀρχήν* 20—rightly. I take it that the clause *ἡ τί παθόντες ὑπομενοῦσι τὴν ἀρχήν* was accidentally written twice, and that afterwards the first member of the ditto-graph was altered into *ἡ τί πλεῖον τοῖς ὑπομένοντι τὴν ἀρχήν*. **ΠΑΘΟΝΤΕC** would easily suggest **ΠΛΕΟΝΤΟIC**.

P. 244, B. 5, 1264 b 10. I do not feel sure that I have caught the point of Dr. Jackson's note here—it ought to be mentioned that a valuable feature of this new edition is constituted by notes, critical and exegetical, supplied by Dr. Jackson, and printed throughout the work with his signature: 'Aristotle apparently does not observe that Plato's myth does not answer its purpose, as it does not recognize the promotion of *ἐπίκουροι* to be *φίλακες*.' Is the myth (*Rep.* iii. 415 A) inconsistent with the promotion of *ἐπίκουροι* to be *φίλακες*, i.e. *ἀρχότες*? Golden youths serve as *ἐπίκουροι*, and become at last *ἀρχότες*. It is only through such service that the golden—and only the golden—rise to become *ἀρχότες*. Silver natures remain always *ἐπίκουροι*.

P. 357, Γ. 1, 1275 a 35. Prof. Susemihl, in the German translation, and Mr. Hicks, in his note *ad loc.*, take *ὑποκείμενα* to mean

'individual members' of a class. But in the sentence 1275 a 38 *τὰς δὲ πολιτείας . . . 1275 b 5 πολιτείαν*, which illustrates the law formulated in the sentence 1275 a 34 *δεῖ δὲ μὴ λανθάνειν . . . a 38 γλίσχως*, it is plain (as the two editors seem to admit) that *τὰς πολιτείας* answer to *τὰ ὑποκείμενα*, and *τὸν πολίτην* answers to *τῶν πράγματων*. Hence *τὰ ὑποκείμενα* must be the *conditions* (according to a common use of the term) with which the *πράγματα* correspond: where conditions, say, of life—salt water, fresh water, air—differ profoundly, the creatures respectively corresponding with these different conditions will themselves differ profoundly.

P. 369, Γ. 4, 1277 a 5. *ἔτι ἐπεὶ . . . . .* a 12 *παραστάτον*. Prof. Susemihl brackets this passage because 'these constituents are not all citizens in the sense of the definition given iii. 1, 2 [1274 b 39 ff.], and yet this alone is material here (Thurot). In fact this whole argument is so absurd that I cannot bring myself to attribute it to Aristotle. The interpolation may be due to a gross misapprehension of ii. 2, 3 [1261 a 22 ff.].' I think that this note applies too stringently a principle which critics seem to consider especially applicable (I have great doubt about its being especially applicable) to the writings of the Father of Logic—the principle of rejecting as interpolated what is not logical in itself, or in relation to the context. If Aristotle had said simply *ἔτι ἐπεὶ ἐξ ἀνομοίων ἡ πόλις, ἀνάγκη μὴ μιὰν εἶναι τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν πάτων ἀρτήρι*, the remark would have escaped suspicion—but, to illustrate *ἐξ ἀνομοίων*, he added *ώσπερ ζώον εἰθὺς ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς ἐκ λόγου καὶ ὄρεξεως*. If he had stopped here he might still perhaps have passed for himself; but he adds another illustration, *καὶ οἰκία ἐξ ἀνθρώπων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ κτῆσις ἐκ δεσπότον καὶ δούλων*, which betrays him into the unfortunate *τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ πόλις ἐξ ἀπάρτων τούτων καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἐξ ἀλλων ἀνομοίων συνέστηκεν εἰδῶν*—unfortunate, because, although the *πόλις* is composed of *οἰκίαι*, and therefore of their 'dissimilar parts,' he ought not thus to have coupled these 'dissimilar parts' with other 'dissimilar parts' of the *πόλις*, viz. its *πολίται*, obtained by the application of a different principle of division. But surely it is quite like Aristotle to do this—to drift into the mention of 'dissimilar parts' in *οἰκία* merely as a further illustration of the notion of 'dissimilar parts,' and then get a little confused by the occurrence of the thought that, after all, the 'dissimilar

parts' of *οἰκία* are also (i.e. as well as *πολίται*) parts of *πόλις*. Surely confusion like this is Aristotelian enough—indeed, I think, even more characteristic of Aristotle himself than of his followers and commentators.

P. 371, Γ. 4, 1277 a 26. *καὶ πολίτου δοκίμου ἡ ἀρετὴ εἶναι κ.τ.λ.* This is the reading of the new English edition, but the *nova impressio* (Teubner) published in 1894 (i.e. after p. 371 of the English edition was in type) adopts Dr. Jackson's conjecture *δοκέτον* *ἡ* for the *δοκίμου* of, apparently, all MSS. As there is nothing in the *Addenda* to the English edition about the reading, one is left in doubt as to whether Prof. Susemihl stands by *δοκέτον η*, or has reverted from that conjecture to the MSS.

P. 375, Γ. 4, 1277 b 29. I cannot entirely agree with what Prof. Susemihl says in his note here on *δόξα ἀληθῆς*: ' "Right opinion" of this sort [i.e. of the sort intended here] does not by any means correspond, as Eaton thinks, with that to which Plato applies the term, simply because the *φρόνησις* to which Plato often opposes it (as in *Laws* i. 632 C) coincides with philosophic knowledge.' I cannot but think that the *πίστις ὄρθη*, or *δόξα ὄρθη*, of the passage *Rep.* x. 601 C—602 A was in Aristotle's mind when he wrote 1277 b 28 ff., and that his example—*αὐλοπούσ—αὐλητῆς*—borrowed from that passage, as Prof. Susemihl notes, shows that he did not, at any rate consciously here, make a difference between his own and Plato's use of *δόξα ὄρθη*.

P. 388, 9, Γ. 8, 1279 b 38. Prof. Susemihl inserts *διά*, and reads *διαφοράς*. But surely the received text (with *διαφορᾶς*) gives a perfectly easy and natural construction: 'Take *διαφορᾶς* as a genitive, making *αἵρια* the predicate, and repeating the word with *ρῆθείσας*—"and thus the so-called causes of difference are not real causes"' (Jowett). *Tὰς ρῆθείσας αἵρια* are those implied in the composition of the words *δλιγαρχία* and *δημοκρατία*. Bernays, inserting *πολιτείας* after *ρῆθείσας*, seems to understand the reference to be to the *πολιτείαι* in which (1) the rich rulers happen to be many and (2) the poor rulers happen to be few (*τὰς ἀρτηλεθείσας πολιτείας* of line 31 above); but surely it is harsh to say 'the constitutions mentioned are not causes of specific difference': if constitutions differ specifically, there is something to cause them so to differ—they do not themselves 'cause' their own specific difference.

Pp. 478-490, H. 2, 3. Prof. Susemihl brackets 1324 a 13 *ἀλλά . . . 1325 b 34*

*πρότερον*, i.e. H. 2 and 3. It would take too much space to epitomize Prof. Susemihl's reasons for bracketing this passage; but they seem to me to depend ultimately on the assumption that a canonical writer's order will be lucid, and that he will not repeat himself very clumsily. I venture to submit to the judgment of those who will read Prof. Susemihl's notes, pp. 478-490, the following sketch of the train of thought in the bracketed passage, in the belief that they will find it consistent with itself and with chapters 1 and 4: 'There are two questions which must be considered now—1. Is the active, political, or the detached, studious life better for the *individual*? and 2. What is the Best Constitution of the *State*? Question 1 is a *πάρεργον*. It gets answered in the answer to question 2, which is the *ἔργον*. The issue involved in question 2 is Ought the State to make its own all-round perfection, or foreign conquest its end? Its own all-round perfection, of course. But, although the Best State will find its end within itself, the organic functions by which it attains to the end will still be practical functions—and practical in the highest sense, like the *free-thought of the Philosopher*.' Thus the two questions, *πάρεργον* and *ἔργον*, are answered together, in a pregnant manner very characteristic of Aristotle: 'That State is Best which is like the Philosopher.' In reply to Prof. Susemihl's remark (p. 480, n. 717) 'The author is in error in supposing that the question, whether scientific or political activity ranks highest for the individual, corresponds exactly to the question which arises with regard to the State, whether it should pursue a policy of peace or of war—it may be sufficient to say that the point of correspondence is that the political life of the individual and the military policy of the State are both *ἀσχολοι* (*E.N.* x. 7, 6): it is in *σχολή* that the true end for both individual and State is given. The words 1324 a 13 *ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' ἥδη δύο ἔστιν ἀδεῖαι σκέψεως* with which the passage

bracketed by Prof. Susemihl begins seem to refer naturally enough to 1324 a 3 *διασκεπτέοντος*: 'there are other points which may be discussed afterwards; but two questions it is now time (*ἥδη*) to go into.' The whole bracketed passage seems to me to be, at worst, as coherent with itself and its surroundings as many other passages which have escaped brackets. Indeed, it is difficult to understand what exactly brackets, marking off lengthy passages, mean to an editor who holds that 'unquestionably the treatise [the *Politics*] consists of different component parts, written at different times, with different aims, though ultimately incorporated in a single scheme (Addenda, p. 662).' My difficulty is about 'ultimately incorporated.' Are we to understand that a time can be (even approximately) fixed, after which substantial additions were made which ought to be bracketed?

P. 519, H. 11, 1330 a 36. *αὐτῆς δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν εἴναι τὴν θέσιν εὑχεσθαι δεῖ κατατυγχάνειν πρὸς τέτταρα δὴ βλέποντας.* This, the reading of the MSS., is adopted by Prof. Susemihl, who fully discusses the difficulties of construction. I would suggest that the almost impossible *κατατυγχάνειν* represents *κατ'* *εὐχὴν εἴναι*: that Aristotle wrote *αὐτῆς δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰ δεῖ κατ'* *εὐχὴν εἴναι τὴν θέσιν, εὑχεσθαι δεῖ πρὸς τέτταρα δὴ βλέποντας*: that a scribe, misled by the recurrence of *εἰ* (*εἰ δεῖ* and *εἰναι*), omitted *δεῖ κατ'* *εὐχὴν εἰ*: and that the words *κατ'* *εὐχὴν εἴναι* afterwards found their way back from the margin into the text after the wrong *δεῖ*, and were there corrupted into *κατατυγχάνειν*.

I have only to add that I hope that the publication of the remaining three Books, and Index, will not be long delayed. With an Index of the kind we have learnt to expect from Prof. Susemihl, the value of this edition—which I have ventured to describe summarily as 'an indispensable book of reference brought up to date'—will be vastly increased.

J. A. STEWART.

#### SMYTH'S IONIC DIALECT.

*The Sounds and Inflections of the Greek Dialects. Ionic.* By HERBERT WEIR SMYTH. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press. 1894. 24s.

THE author of this book of 668 pages has produced a treatise which has had no prede-

cessor in the subject with which it deals. It is strange that such a work has been so long in coming, for of all Greek dialects, apart from Attic, surely the Ionic, from its extent, from the intrinsic value of many of its records and from the romantic history of the people who spoke it, has always been

to scholars the most interesting of all the Greek dialects. Yet it is now more than half a century since the two volumes of Ahrens' great work were published, and though in recent times two other scholars have again taken up the task of summarizing the peculiarities of the Greek dialects they have as yet only retilled the ground which Ahrens had ploughed before them. The truth is that the extent of its records and the textual difficulties which beset the path of the investigator at every step have caused Ionic to be left alone till now, except for researches into the dialect of Herodotus and a previous publication of the present author on the Ionic vowel-system.

Professor Smyth has obviously spared no effort to make his investigation thorough and complete. The evidence for every point of phonology and morphology is carefully collected and marshalled. The inscriptions as being the genuine records prepared by the hands of the people themselves have naturally the foremost place. But after all, for such an important district, the inscriptions of Ionia are scanty and suffer from the usual limitations of official documents. As his second line the author brings forward the non-epic poets of Ionia, the writers of iambics being regarded as the best exponents of the popular dialect. Behind these come the manuscripts of Herodotus and Hippocrates. Nor is the Ionic element of the Epic poetry neglected. Finally the treatises of the pseudo-Ionists of a later age are carefully examined, although their evidence is precisely of the same value as that of an English-born novelist when he writes Scotch or of a Yorkshire novelist when he tries to compose in the dialect of Wessex. Besides these authorities the grammarians have been ransacked for their quotations of Ionic words.

The labour expended upon the complete and accurate citation of all these authorities must have been enormous. It was a work to be done and done once for all. But its very completeness is in one sense a defect of the book. The reader is in constant danger of losing grip of the principles amid an intricate forest of details. These details are in some cases put in tabular form, and many readers will probably desire that this plan had been followed oftener than it is. For it is impossible to make literature of names and references, and if the whole evidence with the exception of such disputed points as required longer discussion had been put in tabular

form nothing would have been lost and something would have been gained.

It is a pity that with all this labour the accuracy of all the results could not be assured. But, as the author complains, in the case even of an important author like Hippocrates there is at present no text which gives clearly, correctly and fully the readings of the manuscripts. In this respect therefore, and possibly in some others, the forthcoming edition of Hippocrates and probable discoveries of inscriptions in the future will necessitate corrections. But the author has at least the gratification of knowing that the present treatise must form the basis of all future work upon the history of the Ionic dialect.

In one respect the book is at present defective. It contains no syntax. It is true that from the inscriptions not much of syntactical value can be gleaned, but a treatise of this size ought not to have been published without giving us what there is to be found special to Ionic in the inscriptions and the literature. It is necessary to emphasize this point because, though no definite statement is made on the matter, the title and references to sections on Aeolic and Arcadian lead us to suppose that this work is the first of a series which will include, it may be hoped, all the Greek dialects. It may also be gathered from § 21 that the author holds that phonology and inflexion alone determine dialect character, a view that has become prevalent from the greater attention that has been devoted in recent years to these parts of grammar as compared with syntax. It is no doubt true in the case of spoken dialects that peculiarities in pronunciation and word-formation are more noticeable because they occur more frequently than syntactical differences. But in dealing with language as it appears in writing, the case is somewhat different, especially where the style is official or the treatise belongs to a literary school. In this case the native dialect will, if anywhere, appear in the syntax. It was neither in the phonology nor in the inflexions of the language written by David Hume and Adam Smith that Walter Bagehot discovered those irritating peculiarities which to his mind marked them as un-English. It was in the idiom, the order of words, the delicate syntactical constructions which speakers of a dialect closely akin and yet different find it much harder to master than do absolute foreigners. To trace these peculiarities in a dead dialect is no doubt extremely difficult, but that does not make

it less worth doing, and the few syntactical notes which occur in his discussion of the conjunctions and elsewhere makes us wish that Mr. Smyth had given us a full treatment of the subject.

The investigator of Ionic has to deal with many questions which interest scholars who are not primarily concerned with dialectology. Of these three may be mentioned: the Homeric dialect, the relation of Attic to Ionic and the question of contracted and uncontracted forms in Herodotus. On all of these the author speaks with no uncertain sound. He promises that in the discussion of Aeolic (or, as he spells it, Aiolic) 'the view will be advanced, that the appearance of the Aiolic ingredient can with propriety be reconciled with the general Ionic colouring of the whole only when it is seen that the dialect of the Homeric poems is, in greater or less degree, an Ionized Aiolic.' The relation of Homer's dialect to late Ionic is thus set forth (p. 41): 'It is difficult to discover any phonetic change of the fifth century (occurring in a word found also in Homer) which does not appear in some portion of the epic.' Ionic and Attic he holds (p. 67) to be 'essentially separate and individual dialects; and the argument which seeks to explain the Ionism of Attic tragedy as Old Atticisms, that is as survivals of the period when Ionic and Attic were still undistinguished, builds upon a false foundation.' He holds (p. 97) that 'against the united voice of iambists and stone records the fluctuating orthography of Herodoteian or Hippocratic MSS. can make no stand.' One other point of general interest to scholars may be mentioned, viz. the ingenious defence (p. 582) of the form *τεθνάναι* which has perplexed so many generations of critics in the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus. One important point remains unsolved—the relation of *κ* to *π* forms in *όκως* etc., although *κ* forms are shown to exist also in Aeolic.

For the philological treatment of the many linguistic difficulties which occur, there can be nothing but praise. A few points where greater clearness is desirable may be mentioned here. P. 20 § 17. Is it not reasoning in a circle to give the name of the mountain in Chios as *Πελανάιον* on the authority of a Thessalian name *Πέλαννα* and then claim it as an example of Aeolism in Chios? P. 22. The arguments to show that Herodotus must have written in the dialect of Miletus rather than in that of Halicarnassus or Samos seem very inconclusive. The influence of Miletus was greater

in the sixth century than in the fifth, and it does not follow that a writer whose period comes after its downfall should have felt the influence of Miletus so much. The author indeed admits as much in § 19. P. 69 § 74 (2). The Attic accent of *μυριαδῶν*, *χλιαδῶν* seems most easily explained as arising from the analogy of stems in *-δη-*s. P. 144. Whatever the probability of a difference in root grade between *ἴστοιναι* and *ἴστων*, *σέκυς* and *σέκιος* are a very doubtful parallel. The better spelling of the latter is *setius* (*Lindsay Lat. Lang.* 566). P. 146 n. 2. It is not made clear why the locative of *ναῦς* should be *νῆσει*. The same applies to *πολίτη* (§ 482) as the locative plural of *πόλις*. P. 152. It seems doubtful whether the form *χλάνδον* should be regarded as a syncope of *χλανδόν*, especially when there are no better parallels than *Ιτπάνδης* and Boeotian names in *-ωδας*. We know that fashions in dress spread in Greece as elsewhere, and I should doubt whether either *χλάνδον* or the more common *ιράτιον* (p. 205) have any great value for the restoration of the primitive language. The latter is certainly a very narrow basis for the philological deductions made by some of the authorities quoted. § 147. Why here and elsewhere prosthetic instead of prothetic? The latter is surely more accurate and more intelligible. P. 155 (and 604). The interesting form **HYΠΥ** proves that at the time of the founding of Cumae, whence it comes, *v* was still *u* not *ü* and had remained so there, but it will prove nothing for the later pronunciation of its metropolis. P. 164. The view that is taken of *μᾶλλον* seems to raise more difficulties than it solves. It seems easier to admit that the accent of *μᾶλλον* is founded on an erroneous hypothesis and should be *μάλλον*. P. 165 (and 233). The explanation of *καρδοκέω* should be somewhat longer. It is not easy to see why the verb should contain a plural noun (if that is meant) nor how the meaning arises. P. 179. It would make the connection of *ρηχίη* with *ρέχει* clearer to point out that in Attic Greek the word first occurs as applied to the reefs washed by the sea. P. 185. How does *-ιογ* occur in *ρήγοιον*? In § 210 and elsewhere anaptyxis is used in a somewhat different sense from the ordinary. To call the *i* in *παλαιοτή* anaptyctic is not to explain it. P. 205. The explanation of the history of *πέίσομαι* (from *πάσχω*) and *πέισμα* seems less simple and less satisfactory than Brugmann's. P. 219 (and 535). *άκοντα* can hardly have derived its *ov* from the future and aorist. The form *άκεντα* has to be reckoned with.

P. 281. It can hardly be doubted that *πλεύμων* is an older form for the lung than *πνεύμων*. The Greeks like the English named the lungs from their lightness, not their function. § 267, 2. Delete the illustration of *σω*, which is an obvious slip. P. 294. Is it not more likely that the shifting of *χ-κ*, etc., in the Ionic dialect arose from the weakening of the aspiration in the one consonant than from its strengthening in the other? At § 361 *πατρῆ* from Thasos might be mentioned as well as *πατρή*, there being thus a parallel to *φρύτρη* as well as to *φραρία*. § 367. Why should it pass belief that the Ionians borrowed a Doric word concerning the sea? The view that people never borrow words for things with which they are familiar is erroneous. If accepted for the English language it would lead to some very strange results. P. 311. It is not clear what are the great difficulties in the way of connecting *κούσ* with Lat. *com-* (not *con-*). P. 315. The reminiscence of Homeric style even in the popular poetry might be paralleled by the continuance in English of such rhymes as *love* and *move* long after the words had become far separated (except dialectically) in pronunciation. P. 465 n. 2. The explanation of the *η* augment in *ηβονδόμην* etc., as from a preposition in *ἐθέλω, ηθέλω* (lost except in imperfect), is extremely doubtful. This seems one of the numerous cases in recent philology which sin against the rule *causae praeter necessitatem non multiplicandae*. P. 519. The statement regarding aorists does not appear easily reconcilable with the view that the stems of the future and of the *-s* aorist are identical.

I have observed the following misprints

which it may be worth while to correct. P. 19 § 14, 297 for 295. P. 21 n. \**Οη* for \**Οη*. P. 149 *εὐερτά* for *-οτ*. P. 188, last line but one, 286 for 287. P. 203 *dācati* for *dāzati*. P. 204 *Στενίχλαρος*. P. 229 *ούς* from *ός*. Add out of *\*ou(σ)os* § 266. P. 304. For root *pāi* read *pōi*. P. 341 (in table) *gen. \*γαμας* for *\*γαξιας*. P. 386 n. 1 *φυλακος* wants accent (on first). P. 447, last line but two of § 563, *ἀσατῶ*? P. 468 n. line 4 *ἀγγέλω* for *ἀγγέλω*. P. 507, last line, read *γεγένηται*. § 615 line 4 read *δεδόκημαι*. At p. 559 some words such as 'In the prose writers' are wanting at the beginning of the second paragraph.

The style of the book at the beginning is crabbed and full of Germanisms, but improves as it goes on. On p. 306 there is a very curious mixed metaphor. Is it too great a demand to ask Professor Smyth in his other volumes to drop such an ugly hybrid as *prosaist*? Herodotus' feelings towards the person who described him so might be imagined as belonging to the order of things which he thought it well on the present occasion not to mention.

Having thus discharged the duties of the *advocatus diaboli* I can in conclusion only thank the author for his excellent book and wish for the early appearance of another volume on some other of the Greek dialects which have not yet been treated. At present, with Meister's and Hoffmann's work still fresh, we can afford to wait for Aeolic. Will not Mr. Smyth give us Doric or the North-West dialects which he has already treated so well in brief in the *American Journal of Philology*?

P. GILES.

#### BUCK'S OSCAN-UMBRIAN VERB-SYSTEM.

CARL DARLING BUCK.—*The Oscan-Umbrian Verb-System.* (Preprint from Volume I. of the University of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology, pp. 124-187.) Chicago. 1895.

INVESTIGATION of the Italic dialects is of recent date and comparatively few scholars have so far worked in this new and attractive field. But if progress, for these reasons, has been slow, it has, on the other hand, been steady and singularly free from empty and valueless contributions. If there have been not many *υαρθηκοφόροι* those who did

engage in the work were *βάκχοι*, and a new treatise has always marked a decided step in advance.

In the line of Oscan and Umbrian phonology the three most important contributions were all made in the year 1892, when Bronisch and Buck gave their exhaustive discussion of the Oscan vowel-system and von Planta his careful and detailed survey of the whole field of Oscan and Umbrian phonetics. The general outlines thus being settled only minor points remain here open for discussion.

A systematic treatment and comprehen-

sive presentation of the scattered facts of Morphology and Syntax, similar to that given by von Planta for Phonology, we still lack, and the present work of Buck proposes to fill this want as far as the Oscan and Umbrian verb-system is concerned. He thus anticipates part of what we may expect in not too long a time from the pen of von Planta in the promised second volume of his *Grammar*. For the Latinist the gain is twofold. He will have the opinions of two specialists on controverted points when von Planta's second volume shall have appeared, and he will find the material in Buck's work grouped in such a manner that its arrangement may be more convenient for his immediate needs and purposes. For it may be expected from the disposition in the first volume that von Planta will follow Brugmann also in the arrangement of the morphological part, *i.e.* that he will start from the inferred Indo-European forms and trace their development within the individual language, a method which will force him to separate originally heterogeneous forms which the individual language has welded into one system (the Latin perfect is an extreme case) and which it treats as homogeneous. Buck's arrangement, on the other hand, is more that of Schleicher, which starts with the actual facts of the individual language and unravels them by the help of the light thrown on them by Indo-European philology.<sup>1</sup> 'It is,' he states, 'with more especial reference to possible readers among the Latinists that I give a synopsis of the Oscan-Umbrian Verb on the basis of the traditional system of conjugations and further attempt a general comparison of the Oscan-Umbrian verb-system with that of the Latin.'

With this aim in view he gives first a tabular view of the Oscan-Umbrian verbal paradigm in the traditional (Latin) arrangement (pp. 125-130). This is followed by a general comparison of the Oscan and Umbrian verb-system with that of the Latin (pp. 131-150). In this section lies the chief interest of the monograph for every Latinist. For the points of similarity of the two systems are numerous and outweigh by far the points of difference. Barring the absence of a pluperfect which may be accidental, the only real divergences

in the *categories* of the verb-system are confined to the *verbum infinitum*, where the Oscan lacks the gerund (but not the gerundive), the active perfect infinitive, the future infinitives, the passive present infinitive and the active future participle. From a morphological standpoint also the similarity is close. The modal system is the same except the perfect subjunctive (which in Latin is an Indo-European optative, while in Oscan-Umbrian it is a real subjunctive) and a few forms of the imperative. In tense-formation the *l*, *nki*-, *f*- and *t*-perfects, a future which is morphologically equivalent to the Greek sigmatic future, *i.e.* the subjunctive of an original sigmatic aorist, the periphrastic future perfect based on the union of an active perfect participle with the subjunctive of the substantive verb, and the lack of the perfects in *vi* and the sigmatic aorist perfects (like *dixi*) are characteristic of the Oscan-Umbrian. Finally we find an almost complete agreement of the two systems in the *syntactical* employment of verb-forms. Buck has devoted pp. 137-150 to this interesting comparison.

The remaining thirty-seven pages are chiefly taken up with those 'contributions on points connected with the verbal system in Oscan and Umbrian' to which the author at first intended to confine himself. Among them are noteworthy his discussion of *seste* (p. 151) against Brugmann and Bréal, of the relation of *i* to *ii* (p. 158) against Bronisch, of Oscan *stait*, *stahint* (p. 160), the plausible explanation of the *p* in *hipid* and *hipust* as the result of a contamination of *habeo* and *capio* (p. 165), the conjecture to fill the lacuna in Zvetaeff Osc. 4 = v. Planta 204 *patt* [*rafens*] (p. 174), the treatment of passive (pp. 177-182), and finally the attempt to establish an *active* perfect participle for the Oscan-Umbrian, a somewhat bold hypothesis which is offered tentatively only.

The presentation throughout is clear and concise and much more *übersichtlich* than that of Buck's *Vocalismus*; the judgment is calm and sound. The treatise forms a valuable addition to Italic dialectology and is indispensable alike to the Latinist and the student of comparative Indo-European Philology.

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<sup>1</sup> See Meringer, *Zeitschrift für die öesterreichischen Gymnasien* xxxix. (1888), p. 131 *sq.*

## COOPER'S WORD-FORMATION IN THE ROMAN SERMO PLEBEIUS.

*Word-Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius*, by FREDERIC TABER COOPER, A.B., A.M., LL.B. Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia College. New York, Ginn & Co. 1895.

THIS is a bulky volume of between three and four hundred pages. On first seeing a thesis of such length, one naturally feels doubtful whether the quality can be equal to the quantity; but a thorough examination of the thesis in question shows it to be a careful piece of work and an important contribution to the study of the subject. The German authorities in particular have been freely used; but the work is by no means a mere compilation. It is no slight merit to have brought together in clear and concise form the results of essays and articles which lie scattered through a great body of literature and many of which are almost inaccessible to the average scholar; and this merit the thesis possesses in an eminent degree.

The brief preface is followed by a list of the principal authorities consulted. This list comprises about ninety works, and shows few important omissions. One is surprised however to find that the great *Corpus Glossariorum* of Loewe and Goetz, which is a veritable treasure-house of plebeian Latin, is not included. Loewe's 'Prodromus' to the *Corpus*, which might have supplied some useful hints, is also missing. Reference should certainly have been made to Saalfeld's *Tensaurus Italograecus* and Weise's *Griechische Wörter im Latein* which are extremely important for words derived from the Greek. The list contains almost no titles of works on Latin inscriptions; but this is due to the fact that the author has intentionally neglected the inscriptional material. The lexicographical works of Mr. Nettleship do not appear in the list; and in general the German authorities have been more completely brought under survey than the English.

Next in order comes an 'introduction' of about fifty pages, which discusses the nature and characteristics of the *sermo plebeius*. This introduction is conspicuous for its sound common-sense. It has been the fashion of late to deny the existence of the vulgar Latin in the sense of a dialect

distinct from the classic tongue. But nothing is more certain than that such a dialect existed. The language of our rural districts is scarcely more different from that of Addison or Hume than the speech of the Campanian peasants in Petronius from that of Cicero or Livy. On the other hand, too much emphasis has undoubtedly been laid upon the distinction between the two dialects, and the almost infinite shades and gradations that lie between them have been too much ignored. The truth, as usual, lies between the two extremes. In attempting a definition of the *sermo plebeius*—no easy task—Cooper holds, with Miodonski and others, that 'it is neither the parent nor the offspring of the Classic Latin, but that the two developed side by side, as the twin product of the common speech of early Rome.' The two rapidly diverged, the one retaining with surprising tenacity many of the features of the *prisca Latinitas*; while the other became more and more artificial. 'As time steadily widened the breach between these two forms of speech, communication between the upper and lower classes was facilitated by a compromise in the shape of the *sermo cotidianus*, the free and easy medium of daily conversation.' We have thus a triple division, the literary language, the speech of the lower classes, and the *sermo cotidianus*. Cooper next discusses the development of the *sermo plebeius* in the provinces, laying especial stress upon the influence of the military idiom and the conservation of archaism in provincial districts. There follow some interesting observations on word-formation in the Classical Latin. The author then proceeds to enumerate the literary sources of the plebeian vocabulary. These are, in the main, the writers whose style is usually admitted to have been more or less coloured by the *sermo plebeius*. It is noticeable however that, in spite of Sittl's contrary opinion, Cooper agrees with Stolz, Miodonski and others in regarding Vitruvius as distinctly 'vulgar,' a view with which most students of that author will probably agree. Apuleius, on the other hand, is regarded as less distinctly plebeian. The vocabulary of the early ecclesiastical writers has been carefully examined by the author, and the results included in his word-lists. Cooper next gives a summary of the main characteristics of the plebeian vocabulary, which however is too long to quote at

length. Particularly interesting are his lists of the peculiarities of word-formation that are characteristic of African Latin (p. xlvi.), and of the *sermo rusticus* (p. xlvi.).

The body of the work is divided into two parts under the headings 'Derivation' and 'Composition.' Under 'Derivation' are treated in order substantives, adjectives, diminutives, adverbs and verbs. Under 'Composition' are discussed prepositional compounds, nominal composition, and hybrids. Under the different terminations are given lists of words wholly or mainly confined to the plebeian Latin. These lists are one of the most important and valuable features of the book, and will certainly be of signal service to lexicographers. They are based in part upon lists previously published by Carl von Paucker and others, but the author has made extensive additions. He does not claim that they are absolutely complete, but they are certainly fuller than any that have hitherto appeared; and though I have noted some omissions these

are by no means numerous. Each word is placed under the name of the writer in whose works it first appears, and in the notes at the foot of the page is added as complete a list as possible of the authors who subsequently used it. Thus it is easy to trace a given word through the history of its usage.

Where so much has been well done, it is invidious to point out defects. I will however remark that the most unsatisfactory part of the book is that which treats of hybrids and words derived from the Greek. This part might have been made much more complete had the author consulted the works of Saalfeld and Weise mentioned above.

The book is however a valuable and important one; and it is much to be hoped that the author will publish the companion volume on Plebeian Syntax of which he speaks in his preface.

H. W. HAYLEY.

*Harvard University.*

#### CAUER ON THE GROUNDWORK OF HOMERIC CRITICISM.

*Grundfragen der Homerkritik.* Von PAUL CAUER. Hirzel: Leipzig. 1895. Pp. 322. Hirzel. 6 Mk.

DR. CAUER is to be congratulated on a book which is large and tolerant in purview and luminous and learned in composition. Though he has no theory of startling novelty to propound, he is a skilful exponent of views which he has made his own by force of a judicial mind and liberal sympathy. His critical sobriety well suits him for his task of impartially reviewing results which have been gained by inquirers in the many fields of the Homeric demesne, and drawing from them conclusions which are always interesting, even when one cannot agree with them. In all these respects his book is welcome, and does credit to the manners and literary style of German philological controversy.

It is impossible to follow Dr. Cauer through the whole range of subjects with which he deals. I must be content to give a list of his chapters. Book I., on 'Textkritik und Sprachwissenschaft,' has four chapters: Aristarchos, Prae-Alexandrian Text, 'Die Erste Niederschrift,' Mixture of Dialects. Book II., is entitled 'Analyse des

Inhalts,' and its chapters are: (1) the Historical Background; (2) Stages of Culture; (3) the Gods; (4) Homeric Composition; (5) Iliad and Odyssey. They are all to be read with profit; and though there is much with which I do not agree, everything is worthy of careful consideration. If I take for special discussion the chapter on *Culturstufen*, it is because it contains a courteous challenge to myself personally, with which I am glad to have this opportunity of dealing.

The general attitude which Cauer adopts in discussing the relation of the poems to early Greek culture as we are beginning to know it is one with which it is impossible to quarrel. The groundwork of the Epos is Mycenaean, in the arrangement of the house, in the prevalence of copper, and, as Reichel has shown, in armour. Yet in many points the poems are certainly later than the prime at least of the Mycenaean age. How is this to be explained? Is it that the poets are deliberately trying to present the conditions of an age anterior to their own? Or are they depicting the circumstances by which they are surrounded—circumstances which slowly change during the period of the development of the Epos?

Cauer decides for the latter alternative, the only one which is really conceivable in an age whose views are in many ways so naive as the poems themselves prove them to have been. Or rather we must recognize everywhere a compromise between two opposing principles; the singer on the one hand has to be conservatively tenacious of the old material which serves as the substance of his song, on the other hand he has to be vivid and actual in the contributions which he himself makes to the common stock.

Is it then possible to trace in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the marks of this gradual development? Cauer makes the attempt in three important directions, and arrives at an affirmative result. I can deal at length only with his treatment of the use of iron, starting from Professor Jevons' paper in a recent number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Mr. Jevons' conclusions were purely negative; assuming my own analysis of the *Iliad* as correct, he showed that there were no positive signs of development between the strata which I call I. and II. on the one hand, and III. to V. on the other. No doubt, as Cauer says, he might have brought out more clearly the fact that my theory is only one among many, and must not be taken as an admitted certainty. But, even so, a somewhat closer analysis on Mr. Jevons' part might have led to a more definite conclusion, which I will endeavour to draw.

In the *Menis*, as I have analysed it, iron is twice mentioned. The first passage is A 133. This recurs exactly in Z 46 ff. It obviously must have been borrowed in one place from the other, but I do not see that there is any particular reason for saying which is the original, unless the mention of iron itself be permitted to decide the question. To avoid a circular argument, however, we can only say that this case is doubtful, and that the chances appear to be equal. The other case is in X 357. This is one of the purely metaphorical uses (*σιδήρος ἐν φρεσὶ θυμός*) which admittedly do not prove more than a knowledge on the poet's part that there existed a substance of remarkable hardness called *σιδήρος*.

In the next place, it is hardly right to treat the whole of my stratum II. as if it were homogeneous. I have myself divided it into three stages; and it is at all events possible—I now think it almost certain—that later parts of it may be contemporaneous with parts of later strata. Dividing up among the divisions of II. the various occurrences of iron, we find the result to be

as follows: II. A, 4 : II. B, 1 : II. C, 3. In Stratum III. we have 8, in IV., 5. Now the difficulty in the way of a gradual development here is to be found only in the four occurrences of iron in II. A. These occur in two pairs; one pair is the double allusion to the iron mace of Areithoos (H 141, 144): the other two are in almost equally close neighbourhood, in Δ 485, 510. Thus the argument which Cauer directs against my theory really touches only these two passages. With regard to the end of Δ, the introduction to the aristea of Diomedes in E, there can be no certainty that it is not a later editorial passage intended to fit E into the general structure of the *Iliad*: the question of the mace of Areithoos depends on the relative position which we assign to the two duels in iii. and vii. Cauer himself has given reasons for holding the duel in the third book to be the earlier; if he is right, and I feel it to be very possible that he is, then we have a steady progression in the mention of iron from the earlier stages of the *Iliad* to the later. And taking my three strata in order without any subdivision, we find the following progress: I. 2? : II. 8 : III. 8 : IV. 5. As the three strata contain approximately equal numbers of lines, the numerical test is fair, and, without leading to any positive result, is on the whole certainly not opposed to the accuracy of my division, assuming the iron test to be a valid one.

But this assumption is one which seems to me extremely rash, in consideration of the very few cases in which iron is mentioned. The difficulty is still greater in dealing with another test which Cauer applies—the mention of temples. He is of course right when he says that the poems contain clear traces of the older custom of worshipping the gods in the open air, especially among or under trees; and that houses for them are a latter innovation. The only two actual temples named in the *Iliad*, as he says, are those of Apollo and Athene in Troy, leaving out of sight the Erechtheum in Athens, which is generally recognized as an Attic interpolation (B 547). But it is not legitimate to draw from this the conclusion that the whole of books E—H, in which alone these two temples occur, belongs to the latest portions of the *Iliad*. Even assuming that temples were unknown in the earlier period of the Epos, which in itself is by no means certain, Cauer's analysis can at most prove that certain passages of E—H are late; he has no right to regard

these books, any more than any other part of the *Iliad*, as a contemporaneous unity.

And thus we are led back to the conclusion that *Culturstufen* can only be a very unsafe guide to unravelling the structure of the *Iliad*. At best they will serve, when used with great caution, as a test for individual passages. It is only when considered in the broadest way that the digamma itself can be shown to have gradually died out during the Epic period: yet we can test the presence of the digamma in thousands of passages, while questions of culture arise at most in a few score. And

even in these few score the ground is not safe beneath our feet: even since Cauer's book has appeared, the inference which he draws from the mention of writing in Z has been immensely weakened by Mr. Arthur Evans' recently published discoveries in Crete. While thanking Dr. Cauer therefore for the spirit of fairness and the suggestiveness with which he writes, I cannot feel that his discussion of culture has done much to advance the question.

WALTER LEAF.

#### WATTENBACH'S ANLEITUNG ZUR GRIECHISCHEN PALAEOGRAPHIE.

*Anleitung zur griechischen Palaeographie*,  
von W. WATTENBACH. Dritte Auflage.  
Leipzig: S. Hirzel. 1895. 3 M. 60.

The first edition of Wattenbach's well-known *Introduction to Greek Palaeography* appeared in 1867, the second in 1877. The last eighteen years have, however, seen the material and the literature of palaeography increased in so many directions, that a new edition has naturally been called for. It differs from its predecessors, not only in contents, but in arrangement. The autographed description of the palaeographical history of each letter now appears in print,—a great gain in clearness, especially to the English reader,—and is followed by a useful section on the abbreviation-marks common in late Greek manuscripts. The lithographed facsimiles of MSS. which accompanied the former editions disappear, being unsatisfactory in themselves, and no longer necessary now that good photographic reproductions are easily accessible; and with them go also the descriptions of them. Finally, the form of the volume is changed from a quarto to a more convenient octavo. In its new shape, and with its considerably altered contents, the work seems to call for a few words of notice.

The most obvious criticism to pass upon Prof. Wattenbach's work is that it is not so much an introduction to Greek palaeography as to the literature of Greek palaeography. Not only the section on 'Geschichte und Litteratur der griechischen Palaeographie,' but also that which is entitled 'Die Hauptgattungen griechischer Schrift,' tells the reader far less about the

history of Greek writing than about the works in which he may find that history. The principal manuscripts of each century are mentioned, but in place of any full description of them we have a list of the editions and facsimiles in which they are reproduced. For the English student, at least, this is a great advantage. Instead of going over the ground already adequately occupied by Sir E. Maunde Thompson's recent *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography* (here described as 'die bedeutendste Erscheinung' and 'ein Meisterwerk, mit vollster Kenntnis des Gegenstandes und aller neuesten Entdeckungen geschrieben'), Prof. Wattenbach supplements it by the fullest bibliography of the subject to be found anywhere. This is the most valuable part of the book, supplying as it does not merely a very complete list of publications, but also a brief description of the character of the most important of them. On the other hand, the section dealing with palaeography itself ('Die wesentlichsten Veränderungen der griechischen Buchstaben') is rendered far less useful than it would otherwise have been by the absence of any indication, in very many cases, of the dates at which the successive forms of each letter are to be found. A table with dated columns, such as those given by Gardthausen and Thompson, would be infinitely more useful than these descriptions. Moreover, several of the commonest and most notable forms found in the papyri are omitted; e.g. the very characteristic forms of  $\eta$  and  $\sigma$  in the Roman period, and of  $\mu$  and  $\nu$  in the Ptolemaic. The tables of abbreviations, however, which follow, will be found useful.

In the multitude of details which are compressed into this manual, a few inaccuracies or omissions may be noted. The editorship of the Palaeographical Society is incorrectly stated on p. 6: Mr. E. A. Bond, we are glad to say, is not dead, and the editorship of the Society's publications was shared at first by Mr. Bond and Mr. (now Sir) E. M. Thompson, and subsequently by Mr. Thompson and Mr. Warner. The facsimile of the Gospel of Peter published by M. Lods (*Mémoires... de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*, ix. 3, 1893) might be mentioned on p. 8, as well as that by von Gebhardt. Lods' facsimile, moreover, includes the Book of Enoch from the same Gizeh MS. The British Museum *Odyssey* papyrus (p. 14) belongs to the first half of the first century (not far from A.D. 1), not the second. The complete facsimile of the *Herodas* papyrus is omitted (*ib.*). There is no reason to suppose that the papyrus MS. of the Funeral Oration of Hyperides was found in the same tomb as that of the speeches against Demosthenes and for Lycophron and Euxenippus; and consequently Prof. Wattenbach's argument as to the date of the latter falls to the ground (pp. 14, 15). A complete facsimile of the Paris Hyperides MS. (which it is rather misleading to describe as simply 'ein Fragment,' seeing that the greater part of the speech is preserved) has been published by M. Revillout (1893). Schoene's attribution of the *Isocrates* papyrus at Marseilles to the Ptolemaic period is impossible (p. 16); it is probably of the fourth or fifth century. The papyrus of the *Ἀθηναῖων Πολιτείᾳ*, described as 'schwerlich jünger als das zweite Jahrhundert' (p. 17), would be more accurately dated if 'first' were substituted for 'second'; the immense increase of material for the palaeography of the first two centuries makes it certain that this MS. must have been written about A.D. 100. With reference to the Herculanean papyri (p. 21) it might be mentioned that photographs of all the otherwise unpublished Oxford facsimiles have been issued

by the Oxford Philological Society in several volumes (1889 etc.) The attribution of all the great uncial MSS. of the Bible (*Sinaiticus*, *Vaticanus*, *Saravianus*, *Alexandrinus*, and *Ephraemi*, p. 27-31) to Egyptian scribes, though possible, must be taken as doubtful, owing to our want of knowledge concerning the contemporary styles of writing in other countries. The facsimile of the *Codex Marchalianus*, published by Ceriani, should be added to the list of sixth century MSS. on pp. 33-35, where the *Codd. Bezae* and *Claromontanus* are (presumably by an oversight) apparently assigned to the seventh century. In connection with the *Uspensky Psalter* (the oldest dated uncial MS.), mentioned on p. 39, reference may now be made to a note by F. Ruhl in the last number of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (vol. iv. p. 588), in which it is shown that there is some reason to suppose that the date in the MS. is stated according to the Alexandrian world-era, instead of the Constantinopolitan, which would have the effect of transferring it from A.D. 862 to 877/8. In the list of facsimiles of cursive papyri on pp. 45, 46, reference might be made (in addition to Wilcken's *Schrifttafeln*) to the atlases accompanying the *Paris Notices et Extraits*, the British Museum Catalogue, and the Flinders Petrie *Papyri*. Finally, it is not accurate to say (p. 118) that the division of words at the end of a line is quite irregular in Egyptian MSS. There are, no doubt, exceptions; but the rule unquestionably is that the break is made after a vowel, except in the case of double consonants, where it may be made between them. Even in non-literary papyri this rule is generally observed, and in literary MS. it is almost invariable.

The above corrections and additions are offered simply as a contribution towards making still more complete and accurate a most useful volume, for which students of palaeography are deeply indebted to Prof. Wattenbach.

F. G. KENYON.

#### WACHSMUTH'S INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF ANCIENT HISTORY.

*Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte* von CURT WACHSMUTH. Leipzig: Hirzel. Pp. vi. + 718.

THE name of Professor Wachsmuth relieves the reviewer from the necessity of criti-

cizing this book at length: it is, of itself, adequate proof of excellence. The book is a sketch of the chief authorities for ancient history and the chief writers on it. An introduction of sixty-six pages surveys the treatment of ancient history by the

moderns: the bulk of the volume is divided into, first, a consideration of the general sources of ancient history, the writers of universal history or biography, Diodorus, Orosius, Plutarch; and, secondly, a consideration of the special sources for the histories of special countries and nations. Detailed examination of such contents is impossible, and I can only say that, so far as I can

judge, the volume is eminently distinguished by learning and ability in the selection alike of facts and of theories: for the rest I can safely leave Professor Wachsmuth's name to speak. The volume may fairly claim attentive study from every student of ancient history: it is probably one of the best books written on this subject.

F. HAVERFIELD.

## ARCHAEOLOGY.

### AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES IN ROME.

It is excellent news that an American School of Classical Studies has been started in Rome with Professor Gardner Hale as its first Director (for 1895—6), and Professor Frothingham as Associate Director. The object of the School 'is to promote the study of such subjects as (1) Latin Literature, as bearing upon customs and institutions; (2) inscriptions in Latin and in the Italic dialects; (3) Latin palaeography; (4) the topography and antiquities of Rome itself; and (5) the archaeology of ancient Italy (Italic, Etruscan, Roman), and of the Early Christian, Mediaeval and Renaissance periods. It will furnish regular instruction and guidance in several or all of these fields, will encourage original research and exploration, and will co-operate with the Archaeological Institute of America, with which it is affiliated.' Professor Warren is to be the Director in its second year (1896—7), and provision has been made for carrying on the School through a third year. The success of the American School at Athens, formed on the same lines and with similar objects, leaves no room for doubt that the School at Rome will flourish for many more than three years. One cannot help hoping that so good a lead will be followed by English scholars, and that an attempt will be made to organize and direct in the same way English study and research in Archaeology at Rome, which have hitherto been carried on with comparatively little assistance and encouragement.

G. E. MARINDIN.

### THE SECOND DELPHIAN HYMN.

*Un nouvel hymne à Apollon: H. WEIL and TH. REINACH. Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique* xviii.

THOSE who have interested themselves in the remains of ancient Greek music discovered by the French excavations at Delphi will remember that besides the two blocks of marble containing the now famous Hymn some smaller fragments were found, which apparently formed part of a similar composition. On these fragments however the musical characters belonged to a different system of notation,—the system, namely, which, according to our authorities, was used for instrumental music; whereas the music of the Hymn to Apollo is written in the vocal notation. The excitement caused by this remarkable discovery had hardly subsided when it became known that another Hymn to Apollo had come to light. This new Hymn is now published in the *Bulletin* of the French School of Athens. It was found, like the former one, in the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi, and proves to be the work to which the smaller fragments belonged. The ingenuity and patience of M. Homolle and his associates has now restored these fragments to their several places in the original composition. The result of this labour, again, has been submitted to the editors of the former Hymn, MM. H. Weil and Th. Reinach, who have now printed their transcription of the hymn with a conjectural restoration, both of text and of music, wherever the state of the materials made it at all possible. This work, it is needless to add, has been

performed with the same care and scholarly judgment as before.

Our first glance at the new hymn raises the highest expectations. It is considerably longer than the other, and exhibits greater variety of style and treatment. Unhappily it is not nearly so well preserved. In the former case we possess a block of marble—one of the two fragments of the inscription—which contains some sixty bars of music, and of these not more than twelve are at all defective. But in the piece before us we nowhere find more than four consecutive bars of which all the notes can be read. Generally speaking, two bars out of every five are hopelessly mutilated. The only set-off against this provoking state of things is that the new hymn is a work of the same class, perhaps of the same period, as the former one. Each therefore throws considerable light on the other. In particular the important rule by which the rise and fall of the melody is made to correspond to the grammatical accents is observed with equal strictness in both hymns. The practice of doubling the vowel or diphthong when a syllable has more than one note is also followed in both. Another common feature is the absence of any indication of the rhythm, which must therefore be taken to be sufficiently marked by the quantity of the successive syllables.

The new hymn is divided, by marks of separation or metrical indications, into at least seven sections. The first six of these are in the cretic or paeonic metre (5-time), which is also the metre of the former hymn. The last section is in a glyconic metre. These sections correspond to the divisions of the subject. First (A) there is an invocation of the Muses. Then (B) all nature is pictured as rejoicing, while (C) Apollo passes from Delos to Athens, and there is invoked as Paean, 'the healer.' Then (D) the poet describes his progress to Parnassus, (E) his laying the foundations of his temple at Delphi, his meeting the dragon, which (F) he slew, and the deliverance of Delphi from the invading Gauls. Finally (G) the rhythm changes from cretic to glyconic, and the poem ends with a prayer to Apollo, Artemis and Leto, imploring them to protect Athens and Delphi, and to grant victory to the Romans.

In the former hymn, it will be remembered, we had examples of change of genus, from Diatonic to Chromatic and conversely, and also of the modulation (as we may term it) involved in the occasional use of the 'conjunction' tetrachord (*τετράχορδον*

*δον συνημμένων*). The new hymn presents us with analogous changes, by means of which the transition from one section to another is usually marked by a difference in the character of the music. The mutilated condition of the marble makes it difficult to determine the exact scale employed in each case: but under M. Reinach's guidance we may offer the following account.

The first section (A) is noted in the Lydian key (answering to our scale with one flat), and employs the notes *A B♭ D E♭ E♯ F G*. Of these *D* is the *Mesē*, and we have accordingly to recognize (1) the tetrachord *mesōn*, *A—D*, but with the *Lichanos C* omitted, (2) the tetrachord *diezeugmenōn*, *E—A*, with *Nētē* omitted, and finally (3) the tetrachord *synēmmenōn*, *D E♭ F G*. The concluding section (G) is also Lydian, the scale being that of section A, with the addition of a tone below. This additional note, which is not important in the melody, should perhaps be regarded as a *Hyper-hypatē*. These two sections are purely Diatonic, and seem to represent the primary key of the composition.

With section B the key becomes the Hypolydian, and this is also the key of section C, except in the middle part of the three into which it is subdivided, and also of section D and part at least of section F. The scale employed extends over an Octave and a Fourth, viz. from *Hypatē mesōn (E)* to *Nētē hyperbolaiōn* (the higher *A*): but this last note only occurs once, and the *Lichanos hyperbolaiōn (G)* not at all. In these parts of the poem the genus is still the Diatonic. The close of the melody is on *E*.

The middle part of section C, which we may call *Cb*, returns to the Lydian key, and employs the scale *A B♭ B♯ D E♭ E♯ G*. The four lower notes are those of the Chromatic tetrachord *mesōn*. The last four might be thought to be the corresponding Chromatic tetrachord *synēmmenōn*; but M. Reinach is doubtless right in deciding against this view. The symbol which we here transcribe by *E♯* is not the one which stands (in the Lydian key) for the Chromatic *Paranētē synēmmenōn (>)*, but denotes the *Paramesē (L)*. Moreover the notes *E♭* and *E♯* do not occur together, or even in the same musical phrase. We must therefore explain them as we did in section A, viz. by change from the disjunct to the conjunct System, i.e. by modulation. M. Reinach justly compares the octave scales given by Ptolemy (*Harm. ii. 16*), from

which it appears that the Chromatic varieties, and indeed all departures from the normal Diatonic, were regularly employed in only one of the two tetrachords of the scale. Indeed the scale now in question is closely akin to that which Ptolemy describes under the name *τρόποι* or *τροπικά*. An even nearer approach may be found in section E, which exhibits the same scale as C<sub>b</sub>, except that the upper G is wanting, and a G is added at the lower end. It is remarkable that this G, unlike the similar note in section G, forms the close of the melody.

The part which we have called F—the last in cretic measure—is so mutilated that it cannot be analysed with any approach to certainty. Probably it was divided into at least two sections; for the notation in the earlier part of it is Hypo-lydian, in the latter part Lydian.

In conformity with the accepted doctrine M. Reinach has to assume that each passage in the composition now before us is written, not only in a particular key—as to which there is no controversy—but also in one of seven *modes* (Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, &c.), *i.e.* in an octave scale distinguished by a particular succession of intervals. The present reviewer, believing that in classical Greek music the terms Dorian and the like refer only to the key, would avoid those terms at this part of the inquiry, and only ask what scale or 'system' is employed, and which notes can be shown to hold the place of key-note and final note respectively in the melody. It may be worth while to see whether this method of explanation carries us as far as that adopted by M. Reinach. The former hymn, it will be remembered, was in the Dorian mode. The short fragments published along with it were conjecturally assigned by M. Reinach to the Hypo-lydian mode: but this view is no longer tenable. He now regards the two sections A and G as in all probability Dorian. The other Diatonic portions, B, C<sub>a</sub>, C<sub>c</sub>, and D, might also, he admits, be referred to the same mode, especially as in all of them the key is the Hypo-lydian (without flats or sharps) and the melody ends on E. But on this view the Mesē would be A, and (curiously enough) that note only occurs once in these sections. He therefore decides for the Mixolydian mode (B—B, with E as Mesē). With regard to the Chromatic passages (sections C<sub>b</sub> and E), M. Reinach pronounces the question of mode to be otiose, the composer probably not having put it to himself. If it is to be put, M. Reinach would assign C<sub>b</sub> to the Mixo-

lydian (A to A, with B<sub>b</sub> and E<sub>b</sub>), and E either to the same mode, or to the Hypo-dorian (G to G with the same two flats). The remark that the composer probably had no particular mode in view seems a just one, and perhaps its application may be extended. But, accepting the results arrived at by M. Reinach, let us see how they would be expressed in terms of a theory which does not speak of modes under the names which denote the keys. Greek theory recognizes, in the so-called Perfect System, an octave of two disjunct tetrachords E—A B—E, which may be combined with the conjunct tetrachord A B<sub>b</sub> C D. Thus there is an E-octave without accidentals, and an E-octave with B<sub>b</sub>, equivalent as regards succession of intervals to a B<sub>b</sub> octave. The former, in the accepted theory, is Dorian, the latter Mixolydian. But if A, the Mesē, is the key-note, the former has the tonality of a key of A, so far agreeing with the Hypo-dorian of the accepted theory: and the latter similarly becomes Dorian. Thus then we find that M. Reinach's three modes—Dorian, Hypo-dorian and Mixolydian (or Hyper-dorian)—are precisely those which are accounted for by the ancient Perfect System, with its alternation of 'disjunct' and 'conjunct.' These in short are the scales which can be analysed into tetrachords of the form semi-tone + tone + tone (in ascending order)—the only form which Greek theory admits.

These considerations are not put forward as though they were decisive against the theory of the seven Modes. It may be said that Dorian and kindred modes were appropriate to the worship of Apollo. All that is contended is that the Delphian hymns do not support that theory.

In this connexion it will be useful to refer to the fresh examination of the remains of Greek music contained in M. Gevaert's new book, *La Melopée antique dans le Chant de l'Église latine*. M. Gevaert, who was especially concerned to determine the scale and tonality of every melody or fragment of a melody that has been preserved, found examples of the Dorian, Hypo-dorian, Hypo-phrygian and Hypo-lydian modes. To the Dorian he assigned the fragment of the *Orestes* of Euripides (thus confirming the view which I ventured to put forward in opposition to Dr. Crusius and M. Ruelle), the first Hymn to Apollo, and the then known fragments of the second Hymn, as well as the later hymns to Helios and Calliope. The Hypo-dorian mode is seen by him in three short

instrumental pieces, and also in the music of the first Pythian ode as given by Kircher, which he is inclined to accept as genuine. The Hypo-phrygian or Ionian mode is exemplified by the Seikilos inscription, and the hymn to Nemesis attributed to Mesomedes. The Hypo-lydian is found only in one of the short instrumental pieces of the *Anonymous*. Thus the earliest known non-Dorian music would be of the first or second century A.D. Till that time it seems that we may apply to Greek musicians generally what Aristophanes says of Cleon in his boyhood—

τὴν Δωριστὶ μόνην ἔναρ-  
μόττεσθαι θαρὰ τὴν λίραν,  
ἄλλην δὲ οὐκ ἔθέλειν λαβεῖν.

M. Reinach concludes his paper by some interesting observations on the style and aesthetic character of the second Hymn to Apollo. He notices in the first and last sections a striking feature, characteristic also of the former Hymn, which consists in the omission of the Lichanos (*C*) in the tetrachord *mesōn*. The remark may be applied also to the tetrachord *diezeugmenōn*; for the high *G* is only found in connexion with *E*, and is therefore to be regarded as *Nētē synēmmēnōn* (*DEFG*), not *Tritē diezeugmenōn* (*EFGA*). This peculiarity is said to have distinguished the Dorian music of the ancient flute-player Olympus. M. Reinach is probably right in considering it as an instance of the tendency to archaism in art which was characteristic of the period. In respect of aesthetic character and treatment, he pronounces the new hymn less meritorious than the other. The composer has sought for effect by means of frequent changes of key, of genus, of mode. But in the separate passages the melody is poor and monotonous. The most interesting feature is the use made of the Chromatic genus, which fully answers to the accounts of it given by the theoretical writers. The date is not fixed except by the mention of the Romans, which points to some time after the middle of the second century B.C.

The paper also contains some further observations, by M. Weil as well as M. Reinach, on the first Hymn, with a new transcription of it. The rule of the accents has proved useful in guiding the restoration both of the text and the musical notes. Thus the word *δικορύνια* in the former transcription, which violated the rule, has been changed into *δικόρυμβα*, which

observes it. Again the second syllable of *θνατοῦ* was at first given with the notes *D, F*, with a rising pitch; but we now read the high *A* for *D* (Α for Λ), and thus obtain the fall of pitch which belongs to the circumflex. The chief improvement however is the inversion in the order of the two blocks of marble. By this change the invocation of the Muses comes, as it should, at the beginning, and the traditional topics, such as the combat with the dragon and the deliverance from the Gauls, take similar places in the two poems.

It may be mentioned in conclusion that M. Gevaert promises a discussion of this Hymn by way of supplement to his new book.

D. B. MONRO.

P.S.—I may take this opportunity of mentioning that the corrected rendering of the Seikilos inscription referred to by M. Reinach (p. 366), and M. Gevaert (*Melopée*, p. 386), has been printed as an appendix to my book, *The Modes of Ancient Greek Music* (Clarendon Press, 1894), and will be sent on application to any purchaser of that book.

#### NAVARRE ON THE GREEK THEATRE.

*Dionysos : étude sur l'organisation matérielle du théâtre Athénien* : par OCTAVE NAVARRE. Paris : Librairie C. Klincksieck. 1895. Pp. viii. 320.

UNDER the above title M. Navarre has written an interesting account of the theatre and theatrical performances of ancient Greece. His book makes no pretence to be exhaustive, but at the same time it contains everything that is of real interest or importance in connexion with the subject. It is written in a lively and vigorous style, and the arrangement is a model of lucidity. It was not to be expected that, on a question which has been so thoroughly discussed in recent years as that of the Greek theatre, an author should be able to produce much that is original. M. Navarre, however, though he has no startling theories to announce, is far from being a mere compiler from the works of others. He has evidently studied the original sources of information with conscientious care, and decided each difficulty for himself. His clearness of judgment, and his capacity for weighing evidence, give exceptional value to

his conclusions. Hence his book, though covering the old ground, has a distinct and independent value of its own; and will serve as an admirable guide to those who wish to make themselves acquainted with the salient features of the ancient theatre, without bewildering their minds with excessive detail or fanciful hypothesis. The work is brought well up to date, the results of the latest discoveries and excavations being clearly explained. It is also enriched with well-chosen illustrations and valuable appendices. Perhaps, however, it might have been made handier for reference by the addition of a more copious index.

The part of the book to which one naturally turns with most curiosity is that which deals with the vexed question of the stage. On this subject M. Navarre has no doubts. He comes to the conclusion that the new theory of Dr. Dörpfeld cannot be maintained, in face of the unanimous testimony of ancient writers. He also points out very clearly a fact which is often overlooked, that this same testimony of the ancients has been confirmed, and not invalidated, by archaeological discoveries. Every Greek theatre which has been investigated in modern times tallies closely with the descriptions of Vitruvius. Under these circumstances it is impossible to contend that Vitruvius' account of the structure of the Greek theatre is not an accurate one. The supporters of the new theory admit this fact; but they suppose that Vitruvius, while describing correctly the outward appearance of the different parts of the theatre, was mistaken as to the purpose for which they were intended; that he imagined the proscenium was a stage, while in reality it was a background. This view, as M. Navarre shows, would have been more plausible, if the statement of Vitruvius concerning the object of the proscenium had been merely a casual observation. But seeing that it is deliberately introduced to account for the general arrangement of the Greek theatre, and that it is made the basis of the directions as to the relative position of proscenium and orchestra, its correctness can hardly be impugned.

The recent French excavations in the theatre at Delos, of which an account is given at the end of the volume, are in themselves almost sufficient to overthrow the Dörpfeldian theory; and their significance is well brought out by M. Navarre. From the long inscription relating to theatrical expenditure we learn, on indisputable

evidence, that the *λογεῖον* was identical with the *προσκύνιον*. Here then we have a definite proof of the existence of a stage in Greek theatres as early as the beginning of the third century B.C. Further than this, the remains of the building at Delos strikingly confirm all that is told us by the grammarians. On the top of the proscenium are three doors, leading into the stage-buildings at the back. This is just as it should be, according to Pollux and Vitruvius. On the other hand the only communication between the bottom of the proscenium and the orchestra is through a single door, three feet wide. If then, as Dr. Dörpfeld supposes, the proscenium was a background and not a stage, we should have to face this difficulty. We should have to suppose, in the first place, that Pollux and Vitruvius were mistaken in believing that there were three doors leading on to the Greek stage. In the second place, we should have to assume that the Greek architects were so foolish that they only supplied one narrow door for the exits and entrances of the actors and their attendants; while in order to mount on to the top of the background (which would rarely be necessary, except when a god appeared) they provided a choice of no less than three openings.

A hardly less cogent proof is afforded by the remains of the Eretrian theatre, where the floor of the stage-buildings is found to be on a level, not with the orchestra, but with the top of the proscenium. In order to enter the orchestra from the stage-buildings it is necessary to descend a staircase and traverse a vaulted passage. But is it conceivable that any architect, in designing a theatrical building, would have gone out of his way to supply such an inconvenient means of communication between the dressing-rooms of the actors and the place where they had to perform? Is it not evident that the top of the proscenium, being on the same level as the floor of the stage-buildings, must have been intended for the stage?

The chief objection to the received theory lies in the peculiar dimensions of the ancient proscenium, as described by Vitruvius and as still found in the existing theatres. A stage twelve feet high would have been too far removed from the level of the orchestra to admit of free conversation between chorus and actors; and a stage eight to ten feet deep would have been too narrow to allow of the occasional presence of the chorus. M. Navarre avoids this difficulty

by adopting my own view, that the stage of the fifth century was lower and wider than that of later times. He points out that we have no information as to the size of the early classical stage. All the stages which have been discovered belong to a subsequent period. The reason why they were raised and narrowed to the shape described by Vitruvius is to be found in the decline of the chorus, which in the course of the fourth century disappeared altogether from comedy, and ceased to take an active part even in tragedy. In these altered circumstances the Vitruvian stage would fulfil all the requirements of an ancient drama.

Another question of considerable interest is the date of the ancient stone theatre at Athens. Dr. Dörpfeld, it is well known, contends that during the great period of the drama the Athenians were contented with wooden theatres, and that the permanent stone building, of which the remains still survive, was not begun till the middle of the fourth century, and that it was completed soon afterwards by Lycurgus. M. Navarre, in this case, accepts his views without reserve, and declares that the question is practically settled. But it may be doubted whether he has not gone too far in making this admission. It is true that certain parts of the theatre—the stage-buildings and the row of marble thrones—are generally admitted to be of comparatively late date. But as far as the auditorium in general is concerned, the question is rather different, and many people still maintain that it belongs, at any rate in part, to the fifth century. No doubt the opinion of an expert like Dr. Dörpfeld, on a subject so peculiarly his own as the date of an ancient building, is difficult to resist. But at the same time the arguments by which he endeavours to prove the late date of the auditorium are by no means conclusive. He points to the fact that Aristophanes speaks of the seats in the theatre as *ixpia*, or 'wooden benches.' But as the earliest theatres were undoubtedly of wood, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the old term *ixpia* was still retained, even after a stone erection had been substituted. He also refers to the statements concerning Lycurgus and his work in connexion with the theatre. Hyperides, in enumerating the services of Lycurgus to the state, declares that he 'built the theatre.' But this is clearly a rhetorical exaggeration, since the decree passed by the people in honour of Lycurgus only claims for him the merit of having

'completed' the theatre, which was previously 'half-finished.' In these expressions there is nothing inconsistent with the supposition that the auditorium had been begun in the fifth century, and that the whole structure was perfected by Lycurgus in the fourth by the addition of the stage-buildings and the marble thrones.

The arguments which Dr. Dörpfeld draws from the existing remains are equally indecisive. He points out that in certain parts of the auditorium conglomerate is used as a foundation; but conglomerate, he says, was never employed in any other building before the fourth century. If, however, the Athenian theatre was the *first* building in which conglomerate was adopted, what is there to prevent us from assuming that it was used as early as the fifth century? Further than this, he shows that one of the stones employed in the construction of the auditorium had previously served as an inscriptive monument, the date of the inscription being the latter part of the fifth century; and that another stone contains, as a workman's mark, the letter  $\Omega$ —a symbol which was not introduced into Athens until 403 B.C. Both these stones, however, are found not very far from one another in the western wing of the auditorium; and, though they may be held to settle the date of that particular part of the building, they are no proof that the whole auditorium was posterior to the fifth century.

On the other hand there are certain considerations which seem to militate against Dr. Dörpfeld's opinion. In the first place there is the definite statement of Suidas that the stone theatre was commenced in 499 B.C., owing to the collapse of the benches in the old wooden erection. This piece of information is not of a kind which is likely to have been invented, since it is merely a dry fact without any special interest. Again, we know that many cities in Greece—such as Epidaurus, the Piraeus, and Megalopolis—already possessed stone theatres considerably before the middle of the fourth century. If, therefore, Dr. Dörpfeld's theory is correct, we must suppose that Athens, the original home of the drama, and the city most distinguished in Greece for the grandeur of its public buildings, was one of the latest communities to provide itself with a solid and permanent theatre. The supposition is so improbable that it is hard to acquiesce in the date which Dr. Dörpfeld has assigned, and it seems safer to suspend one's judgment on this question of the chronology of the

Athenian theatre until more decisive evidence has been brought forward.

A. E. HAIGH.

FOUCART ON THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES.

*Recherches sur l'Origine et la Nature des Mystères d'Éleusis*; M. P. FOUCAUT. Extrait des Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Pp. 84. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1895. 3 fr. 50.

In attributing the origin of the Eleusinian mysteries to Egyptian sources, M. Foucart revives a theory more fashionable in the time of Herodotus than at the present day. The conclusions at which he arrives are, briefly, as follows. About the sixteenth or seventeenth century B.C. colonists or fugitives from Egypt brought the cult of Isis and Osiris to Argos and Attica. The indigenous Pelasgi probably worshipped the Earth, among other natural objects, but only in a rude and impersonal way. The Pelasgic Earth-goddess was absorbed by Isis, who was not only a chthonic deity but also the giver of agriculture and civilization. As Osiris was closely associated with Isis, the oldest form of the Eleusinian cult included a god as well as a goddess; and in historic times this god, who was at first known by the simple title of *θεός*, continued to exist as Zeus Eubouleus, Pluto, and Dionysus. Originally the worship of the Eleusinian Demeter was merely a form of the general worship of Isis-Demeter or Demeter Thesmophoros, which was adopted by all the Hellenic tribes before the Dorian invasion. But, before the eleventh century, the goddess Kore had been abstracted from the primitive Demeter. Such was the development of the cult at Eleusis down to the seventh century, at which period the Greeks became better acquainted with Egypt, and borrowed the doctrine of a future life, as taught in the religion of Isis and Osiris. This idea of a happy state, reserved for the initiated after death, was not a natural outcome of the old worship of Demeter Καρποφόρος and Θεσμοφόρος, but was thus a later addition to the original debt.

M. Foucart argues his case with all the learning and all the lucidity that might be expected in the work of so distinguished a scholar and archaeologist. Yet, as far as

the early history of the Eleusinia is concerned, the theory, in spite of M. Foucart's brilliant advocacy, is not likely to win general approval, unless it is supported by more evidence than is at present forthcoming. To begin with, the theory is unnecessary; for no supposition of Egyptian influence is required to explain the presence of mysteries on Greek soil. This is not the place to quote savage analogies to the Eleusinia and Thesmophoria; it is sufficient to remind the reader that such mysteries are world-wide, and are the product, not of a high civilization like the Egyptian, but of a very primitive stage of society. The Eleusinia and Thesmophoria arose from agrarian ritual; and M. Foucart will hardly contend that agriculture in general was introduced into Greece by the Egyptians. He states, it is true, that wheat and barley were not indigenous in Greece, but were imported from the region of the Euphrates; but it may be pointed out that the Euphrates is not the Nile, and Demeter was something more than the mere giver of wheat and barley. But the theory (as far as we can at present judge) is not only unnecessary, but improbable. For it has yet to be proved that the Egyptians had any direct intercourse with the Greeks on the mainland from the seventeenth to the thirteenth century B.C.—the period mentioned by M. Foucart as the date of an Egyptian maritime supremacy in the islands of the Aegean. It is known that these islands were for some time subject to the Egyptians; but their empire was probably maintained through the agency of the Phoenicians. And with regard to Greece proper, there is no evidence of any relations between the early Greeks and the Egyptians except through the medium of Phoenician traders or colonists. This view is held by the most recent historians, e.g. Busolt (*Griech. Gesch.* i. pp. 84, 181 f.), Holm (i. ch. ix.), and Abbott (*History of Greece*, i. pp. 55-57). M. Foucart asks why we should reject the myth of Danaus, when we accept the myth of Cadmus as the embodiment of a historical fact. To this objection it may be replied that the myth of Cadmus would not be admitted as historical, if the Phoenician influence in Greece were not proved by further evidence of a conclusive character. But as such corroborative testimony is lacking in the case of the Egyptians, we are not justified in reading actual history into an isolated myth. Or, if we are determined to extract a historical kernel from the legend, we must be content to follow E.

Meyer (*Gesch. d. Alterth.* i. § 264), who sees in it a faded reminiscence of the Egyptian empire in the Greek islands during the fifteenth century.

Very probably the author is right in reckoning Egyptian influence as a force which exerted itself upon the *later* development of the Eleusinian mysteries. Whether this influence was direct or indirect is a point more difficult to decide. According to Lenormant and other scholars, certain elements of the mysteries were borrowed from Egypt, notably the conception of Dionysus-Zagreus; but these elements were transmitted through the medium of Orphism. M. Foucart, on the other hand, disbelieves in the theory that the reconstruction of the Eleusinia was due to the Orphic sect. The Orphic doctrines were similar to the Eleusinian because they were in both cases borrowed from Egyptian sources. Perhaps the most striking part of M. Foucart's argument is his explanation of the secret formulas (*τὰ ἀπόρρητα*) spoken by the hierophant (pp. 66-72). In these mysterious sayings he sees the Eleusinian counterpart of the Book of the Dead. The only difference was that while the Book of the Dead was buried with the mummy to guide the soul on its last journey, the formulas spoken at Eleusis were (he believes) learnt by heart, so that there was no need to commit them to writing. The Orphics, on the other hand, closely followed the Egyptian practice; M. Foucart quotes the interesting series of Orphic inscriptions, in Greek hexameters, from the tombs of Petelia, Thurii, and Eleutherna (Crete), in which the soul is directed on its way 'to the sacred meadows and groves of Persephone.'

E. E. SIKES.

#### WAS THE FLAMINICA DIALIS PRIESTESS OF JUNO?

THE statement has often been made that, as the Flamen Dialis was the priest of Jupiter, so his wife was the priestess of Juno. I do not know who was originally responsible for so natural an inference. I do not find it in Ambrosch, the surest-footed of the earlier writers on the Roman religious system. But the assertion was made by Preller, though not quite so definitely as by later writers; the Flaminica was 'eine priesterliche Dienerin der Juno.' (Jordan in his edition has added no comment, vol. i. p. 122.) Marquardt

(*Staatsverfassung*, ed. 2, p. 331) says plainly that she was 'Priesterin der Juno,' and here again Wissowa the excellent editor makes no remark. Roscher in his tract on Juno and Hera goes a trifle further: 'die Flaminica Dialis hatte den Opferdienst der Juno zu versehen.' Hence the statement has found its way into the same scholar's article on Juno in his *Mythological Lexicon*, and is repeated still more emphatically in the article on Jupiter in the same work (p. 700).

I do not suppose that I should have been led to test the value of these assertions, if they had not been recently used to support a much more important inference, and one of the utmost interest for the student of early Italian religious ideas. Preller allowed himself to write in passing that 'the Flamen and his wife appeared before the people as in some sense the living images of the deities of light whom they serve.' Roscher took the hint and, after his manner, carried it out to its logical consequences. He sees in the Flamen and his wife, and the rules of life which governed them, a means of getting at the ideas which lay at the root of the cult of Jupiter and Juno. The latter, in his view, are husband and wife, as well as gods presiding over marriage (*Myth. Lex.* s.v. Juno, p. 590; cp. Juno and Hera, p. 63). Or, as the author of the article on Jupiter puts it, 'die alterthümliche institution des flamen und der flaminica beweist auch, dass die paarweise Götterverehrung in Italien eine ursprüngliche war.'

This inference is to the explorer at first sight as water in a thirsty land. He knows that the cult is the only safe guide in the study of old Italian religion: he knows that the question—a vital one—whether the oldest Romans thought of any of their gods as married couples, cannot be decided by any literary evidence. But if it can be proved that the priest of Jupiter was the husband of the priestess of Juno, he feels at once that he has hold of something definite and trustworthy. The peculiar sanctity of the marriage tie in this case, together with the strange restrictions under which the pair were placed, and the undoubted antiquity of the priesthoods, taken in comparison with evidence from other races as to the relation of gods and priests, prepare him to accept the inference as one of great value. If the water should not turn out to be a mirage, we may fairly believe that Jupiter and Juno were really a married couple, and that the oldest

Italians had got at least as far as this on their way towards polytheism.

We know that the Flamen Dialis was attached to the cult of Jupiter: but what is the evidence that the Flaminica was priestess of Juno? All the writers I have quoted, and some others of less importance, cite but a single passage, and that from an author whose authority on such matters is not weighty and who in this particular instance expresses himself doubtfully. Plutarch in his 86th *Roman Question* speaks of the Flaminica as *ιεπάρ τῆς Ἡπας εἴναι δοκούσαν*. (Roscher would read *ιέπειν* on no manuscriptal evidence.<sup>1</sup>) In this 86th *Question* Plutarch may have been drawing, directly or indirectly, on a gloss of Verrius Flaccus (cp. Festus *s.v.* Maius mensis): but there is nothing in Festus to bear out his remark about the Flaminica, and the word *δοκούσαν* shows pretty clearly that what he says of her is simply his own suggestion, which of itself is quite worthless. Apart from this passage I can find no ancient authority for the idea that the Flaminica was specially concerned with the cult of Juno. There may be such authority, but if the eminent scholars I have quoted can find nothing better than Plutarch's doubtful sentence, I am not likely to be able to do so. And indeed I find a good deal which points in a different direction.

In a Verrian gloss on *flammeum* I find the following: Paulus, p. 92, line 16: 'flammeo vestimento flaminica utebatur, *id est Dialis uxor et Jovis sacerdos*, cui telum fulminis eodem erat colore.' This definite statement, coming from a good authority, that the Flaminica was priestess of *Jupiter*, is borne out by a passage of Macrobius. On the nundinae, he says, quoting Granius Licinianus, she offered a ram to Jupiter in the *Regia* (*Sat. i. 16. 30*): on the other hand, on the Kalends of every month from March to December, which were specially sacred to Juno, it is not the Flaminica who sacrifices to Juno, but the *regina sacrorum*: cf. Ambrosch, *Studien und Andeutungen*, p. 13. And, so far as I know, none of the rites in which the Flaminica was concerned have any direct reference to Juno: see Marquardt, *op. cit.* p. 332. Again, at Falerii, which was especially devoted to the cult of Juno, we hear of no peculiar priestess, but of a *pontifex sacrarius*

<sup>1</sup> *Myth. Lex. s.v.* Juno, p. 590. The text of Plutarch is no doubt uncertain in at least one sentence of this *Quaestio*. But, corrupt or not, no one who reads it carefully will be likely to attach any weight to the words quoted by Roscher.

of certain female sacerdotes (Ov. *Amor.* iii. 13; Dion. Hal. i. 21). Negatively such evidence as this must be allowed some weight when there is nothing positive to be set against it; and all I am contending for is that we have no right, in the present condition of the evidence, to assume that the Flaminica was Juno's priestess, much less to build upon this assumption important conclusions about the early Italian conception of the relation of Jupiter to Juno. I doubt whether but for such assumptions Dr. Roscher would have seen in the Juno-festival at Falerii (described by Ovid in the passage just quoted) a true Italian equivalent to the *ιεπός γάμος* of Zeus and Hera (*Myth. Lex. s.v.* Hera, p. 2101, and *s.v.* Juno, p. 501); or at any rate he would hardly have jumped at the conclusion that the mysterious flight of Juno in the legend attached to that festival was a flight from the pressing attentions of Jupiter—who is not so much as mentioned by Ovid.

I fear we must still return a verdict of 'not proven' in weighing all attempts to show that before the influence of Greek ideas was felt in Italy there was any distinct tendency at Rome to group the gods in family relations. We may be surprised indeed at this; it seems natural to expect that the Roman's family life should be reflected in his ideas of his gods. But in antiquity we do not always find what we expect. There are some few traces in Italy of pairs of deities, as appears from Gellius xiii. 22; but these are so obscure that we do not know in what sense we are to understand the conjunction of *Lua* *Saturni*, *Maia* *Volcani*, *Nerio Martis*, and the rest. It is preposterous to see in such combinations a reflex of Roman family life;<sup>2</sup> if that were so, we should have something more surviving than obscure names—we should surely have myths, proverbs, and some more obvious indication in the cult. Surely, in order to realize family ties in their supernatural world, the Romans must have proceeded much further on the way towards anthropomorphism than we have any reason to suppose they had done when they came under Greek influences. It should never be forgotten that *at no period were they really interested in the gods*

<sup>2</sup> As is done *e.g.* in the most reckless manner by A. Zinnow, *Der Vater-begriff bei den Römischen Gottheiten*, p. 7. It is probable that such conjunctions are 'non per justum matrimonium sed ex officiorum adimitate': Wissowa, *De feriis anni Romanorum vetustissimi*, p. xi.

themselves, but only in their relations to human beings; and without a lively interest of this kind they were not likely to think of their deities as marrying and begetting children.

But in these notes I wish to limit myself at present to the question whether anything we know of the Flamen and Flaminicus Dialis can fairly be used as evidence for the conception of a wedded pair among the Roman gods. I will merely remark in conclusion that a better idea of the true relation of Jupiter and Juno is probably to be found in the article on Hercules (*Myth. Lex.* pp. 2258 foll.), based on the researches of Reifferscheid: and a more probable account of the significance of the Flamen and his wife in Mr. Frazer's invaluable *Golden Bough*, which seems not to have reached the hands of Dr. Roscher and his associates when the articles on Jupiter and Juno were being prepared.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

#### TORR'S ANCIENT SHIPS.

IN his review of my book Mr. Ridgeway made me assert that we have no representations of ships with more than two tiers of rowers; and then went on to say that I 'had to suppose' that the artist left out a tier of oars in certain representations of triremes. In reply to my disclaimer, he finds fault with me for supposing that these triremes are represented with three tiers of oars, the representations being too inaccurate to warrant that conclusion.

He speaks slightly of these representations: but they are the best we have of triremes, and they agree with what we know from other sources.

In repudiating the assertion that we have no representations of ships with more than two tiers of rowers, I remarked that ships with several tiers may be represented in broadside views on coins, the tiers above concealing those below. But I never cited these coins as evidence that ships had several tiers.

With regard to Mr. Ridgeway's theory that the ancients used to put several men to an oar, or several oars through a rowlock, I must remark that he has not yet produced a scrap of evidence to show that they ever did anything of the kind.

In conclusion he states that it is not his own notion, but the notion of all the leading Semitic scholars, that Tarshish is not Tarsus in Cilicia, but Tartessus in Spain.

The notion seems to have been started by Bochart in 1646. He based it on a statement in Eusebius that Tarshish, the son of Javan, the son of Japheth, was the ancestor of the Iberians.<sup>1</sup> I have never been able to discover any evidence of this; and cannot see any reason for doubting the statement in Josephus that Tarshish was Tarsus in Cilicia.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bochart, *Geographia Sacra*, pars 1, lib. 3, cap. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus, *De Ant. Jud.* i. 6, 1.

CECIL TORR.

#### SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

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*Une épigramme sur la bataille d'Actium*, F. G. Kenyon. The text is given with amendments and elucidations of this epigram which has been found on the *recto* of Brit. Mus. Pap. CCLVI. The date is not earlier than 27 B.C., because of the employment of the title *Σεβαστός*. The authorship must remain uncertain, but is probably that of an Alexandrian Greek. This art. is followed by *Remarques sur l'épigramme grecque découverte par M. Kenyon*, H. Weil, who differs in several respects from the interpretation of Mr. Kenyon. *Deux lettres de Cl. de Saumaise à J.-A. de Thou sur les Anthologies grecque et latine* (1615), H. Omont. The first letter gives some account of the various collections of the Greek Anthology, and traces the plan of his proposed new edition (which was in fact never published). The second letter announces his acquisition of a MS.

containing a large number of Latin epigrams. This was the celebrated collection known as the *Codex Salmasianus*. *Nouvelles études sur le manuscrit d'Isocrate du fonds d'Urbin* (concluded from the last No., see Class. Rev., sup. p. 382), A. Martin. This deals with the remainder of *Encomium Helcnae*, and the *Philippus*. *Riese*, Anthol. 445, L. Havet. From Bachrēs, *Poetae Lat. minores*, iv. p. 78-79. The third line is quoted by Loup de Ferrières with *meos* for *nostros*, which should be adopted as Loup had probably a better MS. under his eyes. *De Aristote primordiisque comoediae atticæ*, F. Susemihl. On three passages of the *Poetics*, viz. 3, 1448a 29 foll., 4, 1449a 9 foll., and 5, 1449a 37 foll. *Babrius CXI, CXIII*, E. Tournier. *Varron*, *Rer. rust.* ii. 5, 5 et *Sat. fragm.* 25, G. Lafaye. These two passages refer to the rhetorician Plotius whom Riese identifies with L. Plotius Gallius, the first who taught rhetoric at Rome in Latin, when Cicero was

still a child. *Nouvelle inscription latine en lettres onciales*, R. Cagnat. An inscription found recently in the baths of Timgad (in N. Africa). From its referring to a known person we can put the date in the earlier part of the 3rd cent. A.D. *Le Troisième mariage de Néron, Statilia Messalina, P. Fabia*. An account of this lady is given. According to schol. Juvenal depicts her in vi. 434 foll.

**Journal of Philology.** Vol. xxiv. No. 47. 1895.

*Various notes on Thuc. VI. and VII.*, W. E. Heitland. Mostly textual notes. Hude's text edition with full collation of MSS. much commended. *Homer's Similes*, A. Platt. Concludes that Homer does archaize to an extent far greater than Aristarchus observed, and that the civilization of the Homeric poets is not Achaean but Ionian. *The slaying of the Suitors*, A. Platt. Maintains, as against Prof. Jebb, that Odysseus was at the lower end of the hall, not only when he shot the Suitors (as every one allows), but also when he shot the arrow through the axe-heads. *On a Vergilian Idiom*, A. Platt. From the idiom by which V. instead of *et* or *que* repeats a verb or noun (see e.g. Ecl. iv. 6), the text in Soph. Ant. 673 *τε...* *ἡδί* is defended, where Soph., instead of writing *τε* or *καί*, repeats *ἀδην* by *ἡδί*. *Plato Phileb.* 66B, H. Jackson. Reads *ἀρ' ὅντες* for *ἀρ' ὅντες* *οὐ τέταρτα*, the scribe having taken  $\Delta$  of *οὐτα* to mean the ordinal number. *Plato Timaeus* 51B, R. D. Archer-Hind. Maintains that in this passage Plato does not admit to the rank of absolute essences ideas of the four elements, but is asking whether fire is a mere fleeting phenomenon or a determined mode or law in which intelligible essences are apprehended by our senses. *The Attic Civil and Sacred Years*, T. Nicklin. (1) Seeks to show that the well-known inscr. giving the account of the Treasurers of Athens from 426/5 to 423/2, on which in great measure depends our knowledge of the Attic Calendar in the 5th cent. B.C., cannot be correct as at present read, (2) proposes a theory to solve this and other difficulties. *The Trebia and Lake Trasimene*, G. B. Grundy. Maintains that the difficulty about the sites lies not so much in the typographical detail which is given by Livy and Polybius as in that which is omitted by both. Livy's account has been unduly disparaged. Concludes with an examination and rejection of Mr. Tilley's [here misprinted Lilly] theory in Class. Rev. vii. p. 300, which places the site of the battle of Trasimene on the east side of the lake. *The Carthaginian Councils*, B. W. Henderson. Seeks to show that there were two Councils at Carthage, deliberative and legislative, and one small executive, viz. the *Σύγκλητος*, a large body of uncertain number, from which was selected the *Γεροντία* of 104, to which complete legislative and judicial power was delegated by the *Σύγκλητος*. Finally, of the *Γεροντία* a body of about 30 formed a small executive. *Lucretiana*, J. P. Postgate. Notes on various passages, chiefly criticisms on Munro and on Brieger (Teubner ed. 1894). *On the new Hecale Fragments and other Callimachea*, R. Ellis. Mr. Kenyon has already published the text in Class. Rev. vii. pp. 429, 430. Gives an interesting account of these fragments which have been edited (with a facsimile) by Prof. Gomperz from Archduke Rainer's tablet at Vienna. Nägele had already shown that Ovid drew directly from *Hecale* in his *Baucis* and *Philemon*. Col. 4, we have entire [?] Mr. Kenyon says the top line is illegible] and singularly we have in this col. two lines already known, viz. 13 from Schol. Ar. Ran. 1297, and Suid., and 1. 14 from Schol. Ap. Rhod. iii. 1150.

**American Journal of Philology.** Vol. xvi. 2. Whole No. 62. July 1895.

*The Imperfect and the Aorist in Greek*, C. W. E. Miller. A long and elaborate review of Hultsch's *Die erzählenden Zeitformen bei Polybios*, which contains also an independent contribution from the writer's own materials. Hultsch shows weakness in his inadequate treatment of the theoretical side; as an exhaustive study of the facts his work is of inestimable service. *Diminutives in Catullus*, S. B. Platner. In the adjectives there is in most exx. no apparent difference in meaning between the dim. and regular form, while for most nouns the dim. sense is plain. Cat. was unusually fond of both dim. form and meaning, and sometimes he uses the form for itself, through analogy or for metrical reasons. *On a legend of the Alban Lake told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, K. F. Smith. A comparison of versions shows that the different narrators felt that the important part in this story was that the king was struck by lightning, but Dionysius and Diodorus give us the most interesting part in telling us how the lake rose and overwhelmed the King Alloodus and all his house, and how, to this day, ruins of that house are sometimes to be seen at the bottom. The story was probably rationalized in this direction by the authorities of Dion. and Diod. because of the observed fact of an ancient fall and rise of the Alban Lake. *Lysimach post a. 394 a. Chr. n. compositum esse*, A. Wirth. Argues that there is an allusion in the *Lysis* to Xen. Mem. 2, 6, 9, that the latter work was not published before 394 B.C.; and that consequently the *Lysis* must be placed after that date. In *Further Notes on the Origin of the Gerund and Gerundive*, Mr. L. Horton-Smith adds to his former art. [see Class. Rev. viii. 474] a further list of compounds from Sanscrit, Greek, Italic, &c., in which the first member is in the accus. case, governed as object by the second member. Next follows a long and valuable review of Jowett and Campbell's *Plato's Republic* by Prof. Shorey, who finds these volumes disappointing on the whole. The work is too costly and ponderous for college, and yet it cannot be considered a monumental achievement like Muuro's Lucretius or Jebb's Sophocles. The other classical books noticed are Blaese's *Geschichte des Plusquamperfekts im Lateinischen*, and Ries' *Was ist Syntax?* Briefly mentioned are Dr. R. F. Weymouth's paper *On the rendering into English of the Greek Aorist and Perfect*, reprinted from the 'Theological Monthly' for July and Sep. 1890, Dr. Verrall's *Euripides, the Rationalist*, and the etymology of *αἰγλήψ* which remains a puzzle.

**Rheinisches Museum.** Vol. 50. Part 4. 1895.

*Die peregrinen Gaugemeinden des römischen Reichs*, A. Schulten. A long article describing the process of the absorption of the provinces into the Roman Empire. The writer gives details concerning the constitution, raising of levies, taxation, &c. of the various provinces. *Antikritische Streifzüge*, II., O. Ribbeck. Some notes on the *Dirae* with reference to recent criticism. *Thukydides über das alte Athen vor Theseus*, J. M. Stahl. Maintains that Dörpfeld fails to reconcile his theory of the position of the Lenaion and Enneakrounos with the account in Thuc. ii. 15, 2. *Anecdota medica Graeca*, R. Fuchs. Continued from vol. 49, Part 4 [Class. Rev. sup. p. 141b]. Appendix to cod. Paris. Suppl. Graec. 636. Collation of the text 85 v.—112 r. with elucidations. Also a description of the medical contents of cod. Paris. Graec. 2324. *Nekyia*, E. Rohde. A reconsideration of the analysis of the *Nekyia* given in the

writer's 'Psyche,' occasioned by reading P. Cauer's *Grundriss der Homerkritik*. The whole Nekyia was wanting in the original *Odyssey*.

MISCELLAN. *Die chaldäischen Orakel*, W. Kroll. Considers it a document of heathen Gnosticism, the date about 200 A.D. *Das Ikariongebirge*, R. Förster. In the *Jerusalem* epitome of Apollodorus. (=Apollod. bibl. epit. 3, 21) ἐν Ἰκαρίῳ βαλῶν ἔλαφον must be emended to ἐν καρπῷ βαλῶν τὴν ἔλαφον. *Zu Q. Serenus (Sammonicus)* and *Zu Maximianus*, M. Manitius. *Fortuna populi Romani*, J. Ziehen. In Justin. 30, 4, 16 and 39, 5, 3, where the words *fortuna Romana* occur, we should write *Fortuna* in both places.

**Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik.** Vol. 151. Part 7. 1895.

*Über das vierte Homerische epigramm*, R. Peppmüller. Reconstructs by omitting ll. 6, 7, reading in l. 10 ἀνδρῶν, and for l. 12 οὐτε δέ ὅτε δέ αἱρετούσι δέ αὐτούσι πότμουν. *Noch einnal die gliederung des Platonischen dialogs Gorgius*, C. Schirlitz. Concluded from the last Part. A criticism on Cron's edition. *Noch einnal Θύρεον und Topóθεia*, H. Pontow. *Τύρειον* of the Delphic text is to be identified with the well-known Acaeanian town Θύρεον and not with *Topóθεia*. *Über das verhältniss der 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία zu den naturwissenschaftlichen schriften und zur politik des Aristoteles*, M. Pokrovsky. Seeks to show that the 'Αθ. πολ. consists not of two, but of eleven closely connected pieces of various extent. The Athenian political arrangements are in all these pieces described in the proportion which is necessary from the standpoint of Aristotle's political teaching. *Die sogenannte Drakontische verfassung*, F. Bläss. There is no contradiction between the 'Αθ. πολ. and the *Politics*. In both Ar. says that Dracon made his laws for an already existing constitution. *Zu Curtius und Thukydides*, K. Fulda. By comparing Curt. iv. 3, 13 with Thuc. ii. 76, 3 it is concluded that C. in

describing the siege of Tyre has copied Thuc.'s description of the siege of Plataea. A review by G. Friedrich of Krüger's *Q. Horatius Flaccus salire und episteln*, 13th edition. The edition of Krüger stands at the head of Horatian criticism, but that criticism itself is still far from a settled conclusion. *Zu Plautus Persa*, E. Redslob. In Pers. 120 reads *nīl parasitus est: quoī (or parasitūt quībī) Argentum-prīmidē*. *Zu Cornelius Nepos*, J. Lange. In Dion. 1, 4 reads *crudelissimum animum* (for *nomen*) *tyranni sua humanitatem tenebat*. But in a note Fleckeisen reminds the writer that *tenebat* is only a conj. of Lambinus for cod. reading *tenebat*.

Part 8. *Nundinalfragen i.-iv.*, G. F. Unger. Attempts to reach the time of old-Roman dates according to the Julian calendar by a calculation of the market days, which we know, and which occurred every eight days (*nomo quoque die*). *Die grundzahlen-theorie und die responsion des Herakles*, J. Oeri. An answer to some of C. Conradt's criticisms in 1894 accompanied by a table of the distribution of the play. *Zu Euripides Herakles*, K. Frey. A few critical notes. *Die chronologischen angaben des Pausanias*, F. Reuss. It is probable that the source from which Pausanias derived his dates for his description of Greece was the *χρονιά* of Apollodorus. *Der Jerusalemer biograph Alexander des grossen*, F. Rühl. On a fragment in the patriarchal library at Jerusalem, published in 1892. Two quotations in Snidas are from it and attributed to an unknown author. *Zu Ovidius Ars Amatoria*, W. Bannier. In l. 332 the line *pube premit rabido inguinibusque canes* seems to have been introduced from Am. iii. 12, 22, and to have thrust out the original line. *Zur textkritik von Ovidiusfasten*, E. Samter. *De Apulci metamorphoseon codice Dorrilliano*, O. Rossbach. Maintains that this cod. (called 3), though it has much in common with F (Laur. 68, 2) and φ (Laur. 29, 2), is not derived from either of them, but is of a separate family, and is of as much value as φ in constituting the text.

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Winckelmannsprogramm, (18. Hallisches): Die Marathonschlacht in der Poikile und Weiteres über Polygnot von C. Robert. 4to. 126 pp., 12 engravings, 1 plate. Halle, Niemeyer. 12 Mk.

Xenophon's Anabasis in Auswahl, herausgegeben von F. G. Sorof. Erklärungen: Hilfseff und Commentar. 8vo. iv, 72, 165 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 1 Mk. 80.

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*Note.—In the General Index names of actual contributors, in the Index Locorum references to passages discussed, are printed in heavy type.*

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